/12 cont'd/
161 lived in Yai-chou. For purposes of clarification we have made the
175 following table:

District	Number of Villages	Number of Villages	Total Population
Tan-chou	10	100	500
Ch'iung-shan Hsien	5	50	250
Kan-en Hsien	50	500	2,500
Yai-chou			

/13/ Thus we can deduce a total population of several thousand. The Miao population in other areas /of Hainan Island/ is not included.
[63] (During the Ch'ing period, Hainan Island was divided into three chou and ten hsien /two types of districts/. Of these, only two hsien, Wen-ch'ang and Hui-t'ung, were purely Chinese.)

[127] The third method is by examination of firsthand reports. According to the numbers furnished by Mr. Wang Fu-shou and Mr. Yang Tsung-yao, there are three Miao t'uan and 25 Miao villages within Pao-t'ing district. If we suppose that each t'uan consists of 30 villages (this is the average number in each t'uan in Pao-t'ing district), there should be 115 Miao villages in Pao-t'ing. If each village consists of ten families, there would be 1,150 families altogether. If each family has five members, the total Miao population in the Pao-t'ing area would be 5,750. If there are the same number of Miao in the other two districts, Lo-tung and Pai-shâ, the total Miao population in Hainan at present would be three times the above number, or 17,250. (There is a statement on page 85 of the Hainan Tao Chih /Annals of Hainan Island/, edited by Chen Ming-shu and others:
241 "The Miao people like to live in the mountains. Usually they burn
311 the mountain to clear the land for cultivation; afterward they move away again. It seems that they live in no permanent place. In such places as the vicinity of Feng-hsü t'ung of Tan-chou, Nan-mo t'ung of Lo-hui, the vicinity of Ssu-ho in Ting-an /hsien/, the four villages

/13 cont'd/ of Lin-kao-fan, Ta-fan, Chen-chih-yüan, and Tung-men, and the valley of Mt. Ta-chi of Ling-shui, they clear the land for cultivation by burning. The population is much smaller than that of the Li." This statement should be considered as a record of the geographical distribution of the Miao before the three Li districts in the Nan-hai area were set up.)

There is another question worthy of discussion in the study of the Miao population. It is whether the present Miao have kept a pure blood line. In other words, have they mingled with elements of other groups? From the point of view of marriage, it seems possible that the Miao have maintained a pure blood line, since Miao custom has forbidden intermarriage with other groups; but, in fact, this is not wholly the case. According to my knowledge, Lu Tsun-ying, the headman of the Miao village of Ang-chi in Ta-chi in Pao-t'ing district bought and adopted a Li child because he himself had reached old age without an heir. /14/ I was also told by Mr. Wang Fu-shou, who was the Miao headman in Pao-ch'a village, that in the very beginning there were only four Miao families—P'an, Shih, Li, and Teng. Only in a later period were other families added. He could not explain the reason. This statement, however, leads one to suppose that the other families were originally from other groups who later became Miao. With regard to Wang Fu-shou himself, some people told me that he was originally a Li who had later became a Miao. In short, it seems that there must have been some foreign elements mingled with the Miao people. This fact is indeed favorable for the growth of their population. But, on the other hand, there were also some Miao people who became members of other groups, proof of which is to be found in a statement in the family register of the Lin family:

"Sheng-kuei of the east field lived in a t'ung of the Li people and became a Li; having arrived in the mountain village, Sheng-ho-wang (?) married a Miao."

Furthermore, Lu Tsun-ying personally told me that he had some elder and younger brothers /i.e. cousins/ of the same surname, who lived in the neighborhood of Chia-chi market of Ch'iung-tung

/23 cont'd/

133 become especially skilled in hunting. At the same time, the
221 mountain slopes are very well suited to animal husbandry. Owing to the lack of streams, however, fishing is rather negligible. In general, agriculture—tilling the mountain slopes—remains the
[224] chief aspect of their economic life. Hunting is also very important and, to a lesser extent, animal husbandry, while fishing is of no importance. Their economic life is thus entirely conditioned by geographic factors. We shall discuss this in the following sections.

2. Agriculture

● 241 There are two different methods of agriculture adopted by the Miao, cultivating level fields and planting the mountain slopes. As we have mentioned before, there is a good deal of mountainous land and few level fields. Therefore, the planting of mountain slopes is the chief /24/ form of agriculture while the cultivation of level rice fields is only secondary.

The work of planting the mountain slopes usually begins in the second month of the lunar year. First, they cut down the trees; then they cease working for a short period to allow the branches to be dried by the sun, after which they burn them; the ashes remaining are a natural fertilizer. Subsequently, they sow the seed in holes dug by spades and hoes. The main crop they cultivate is rice grown on dry land. Corn and beans are also raised on a large scale.
[242] After the seeds are sown, they neither fertilize nor irrigate, and only after the crops are grown is any weeding done. The eighth or ninth month of the same year is usually the time of harvest.

243 Their method of cultivating their level rice fields is almost the
[171] same as that of the Chinese. Cultivation usually begins in early spring. Their tools consist of ploughs and harrows which are drawn
[231] by oxen. Their method of sowing and transplanting the rice sprouts is also the same as the Chinese. However, they pay little attention to fertilizing, irrigation, and weeding. The wet rice fields can be cultivated and harvested twice a year. The first period is from the first month to the fifth month of the lunar year; the second period from the sixth to the ninth month. With dry fields there is

/24 cont'd/

243 only the second period. If the dry fields are not planted with miscellaneous crops during the first period, they are simply left fallow. But in actuality, even in the Li area, wet rice fields which can be cultivated twice a year, are very few, and those which are held by the Miao are even rarer.

The Miao still do not know the use of the sickle for reaping in harvesting. They gather the stalks by hand, tie them together in sheaves, and then put them into a ho-ts'ang /drying bin/ to be dried by exposure to the wind or by the sun. The rectangular drying bin is built of bamboo with thatch on top and all four sides left open. The floor is made of long planks on which the grain is spread. After it has been thoroughly dried, the grain is moved to a granary, which is also rectangular, is built of wooden boards covered with thatch, and has a raised floor. It is all shut up except for a door on the front side. The grain is neatly stored in the granary and is not taken out until it is needed. The milling process consists of placing the grain into a rectangular wooden mortar in which the grain is pounded with a wooden pestle to remove the husks. /25/ Then the grain is once more put into a wooden mortar to be hulled into rice. The rice mortar is circular just like that used by the Li.

311 The everyday food of the Miao comes almost entirely from till-
●241 ing the mountain slopes. Only a very few comparatively wealthy Miao own flat rice fields. Since each piece of hilly land cannot be used continuously for more than two or three years before the soil becomes depleted, it is necessary to stop planting it. For instance, a mountain area planted in this way may be quite large, but it is not difficult to have the total area completely tilled by rotation
[34] within eight to ten years, and the soil of the whole area must be allowed to recover. At this time then the Miao must seek fresh
166 land in other localities. Therefore, the Miao frequently move once every few years, or at least once in a decade; thus their life is as unsettled as a drifting ship. I have observed this situation with my own eyes during the period of my study.

244 They cultivate very few vegetables, but sugar cane and banana
245 may be seen occasionally.

/72 cont'd/

Bringing in the Crops Song

539
241

Bringing our grain crops home,
Shen Nung and T'u-ti* are with us as we bring our crops home,

* Shen Nung was a legendary emperor who is the supposed teacher of husbandry. T'u-ti is a term for a local divinity.

Escorting us all the way home to their shelter.
Safely placed in the granaries, these crops will draw the envy of the emperor.
Thank you,
Shen Nung and T'u-ti,
For escorting and protecting the crops all the way home.
When the emperor bestows his attention on us, we'll think of you.
From the palace in the capital, a messenger will be sent us,
And much glittering gold will accompany him.
The tenure of a hsiu /title of government office/ is only three years,
But riches and honor come to an official.
For all this we will be much indebted to you,
And your kindness will be borne in the mind of the emperor forever.

533
539 (2) Songs connected with social activities, such as the one cited in Chapter IV: "The Song of the Old Villager."

533
539
831 (3) Songs related to love between the sexes. For example, when an unmarried man and woman happen to run into each other in the street, the following is frequently sung:

First admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
Show how you feel according to your heart's desire.
What you desire is seen by others,

M /19 cont./

*101 CC 563 M [582] (4) Yeh T'ou Miao. — This group also belongs to the He Miao. When a girl is married, she must marry the son of her maternal uncle. If the latter has no son, he must be given presents of ornaments and money. Otherwise she may not get married at all.

(5) Tung Tsai Miao. — They are not as numerous as the Yeh T'ou Miao, and live in separate villages. The Yeh Tou villages are known as the Big Villages and the Tung Tsai ones as the Small Villages, the latter being subservient to the former. Marriage is restricted to their own villages. A secret marriage to a member of a big village is a violation. The Tung Tsai are good boatmen. In Mi-no these are such tribemen.

M [628] [582] [502]

M [345] [533] [517] [584] [583] (6) Pa Chai Miao. — This group is also a part of the He Miao. Near the village is provided an empty shed, where unmarried men and women gather together to sing. If a couple fall in love, a cow is sent as a betrothal gift. One or two days after marriage the girl goes back home and still asks for money from her husband. If the money is not given she may marry again. In Ya-yu this custom still exists today.

/20/ (7) Ch'ien /Bamboo Grove/ Miao. — Another branch of the He Miao, there are many at Lieh-erh-shan. They live in dense bamboo groves on the mountain. They are not good at farming but grow some grain. They consider hempseed to be food and use hemp for their clothes.

M [241] [262] [291]

(8) Ch'ing Chiang He Miao /Ch'ing River Black Miao/. — The unmarried men are called "lohan" and the unmarried women, "laopei." In the spring they carry wine and food up the mountain, singing and dancing reciprocally. Those who become fond of each other drink from an ox horn and get married. After a son is born, they then say they have a descendant, and begin to be willing to work in the field.

[882] [527] [584] [851] [167]

(9) Pe /White/ Miao. — They originated in Kwei-ting and Lung-li in Kweichow. They esteem white clothes, go bareheaded and barefooted, and coil up their hair with crude hairpins. A big bull is selected for the ancestral sacrifice.

[291] [302] [782] [769]

/29 cont./

133 reaches Yen-meng and Ch'e-t'ou where the Yu-lo Ch'i, the Huang-an Ch'i, and the T'un-szu Ch'i tributaries joint it from the west. Finally it flows past Shih-yang-shao and enters Ma-yang-chiai, and reaches Kao-ts'un, where it empties into the Ch'en Chiang River.

[131] Topography. (Illus. 2). — Topographically, the Miao area may be divided into two natural regions. The northwestern section can be called the La-erh plateau region; the southeastern section is the region where the rivers flow down. Although the plateau rises about 700 kung ch'ih above sea level, on it there are a great many small basins, with many springs and ponds [192] good for irrigation. The Miao call such small basins p'ing /a plain/, t'ang /a pond/, or ch'ung. The best known among these is the Pao-mu-ying-p'ing, about 70 li north /30/ of Feng-huang-ch'eng /city/. Surrounded by mountains, this level area measures five to six li in length and three to four li in width, [312] and has seven or eight spring-fed ponds, supplying ample drinking water. It is the largest basin on the plateau. Ya-pao-chai [433] (Illus. 7),[1] situated in the Ya-pao-shan mountains, about 93 li [241] north of Feng-huang-ch'eng, is very high and cold. It has several fish ponds and produces rough rice and yams. In 1795, [648] when the Miao revolted, the headman, Wu Lung-teng, whose family had lived there for generations, was entrenched there. The above two places are the largest among the basins on the plateau. There are countless small basins /p'ing and ch'ung/. [312] There are numerous wells and springs in the mountains, wells being found even on the peaks. The "Yao K'ao" section of the Miao Fang-pei Lan states: "Fifty li southwest outside the city is Ma-an Shan /"Horse Saddle Mountain"/, which is about eight or nine li in height, is very steep, and resembles a horse saddle in shape. On top of the mountain there is a well that never [312] goes dry. On the mountain there are pockets where there are irrigated rice fields. It is a strategic point for the uncivilized Miao to defend." The La-erh plateau is dotted with Miao [361] villages and settlements because of its level places /p'ing/ and wells and springs, and there the Miao people thrive.

[1] [see cat. 116, p55 - ANALYST]

M 353 /41 cont./ Among the Miao there are five surnames:
[184] Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. The arrangement described
[551] above is a Lung house of someone with the surname. The
[354] families with other surnames place the fireplace, the kitchen
[778] stove, and the ancestral shrine on the right-hand room, just
the opposite of the Lung surname families. In the two-room
type of house the fire pit is in back of the middle pillar, and
M 342 the stove is located in the room on the left (Illus. 16). The
[353] partition into two or three rooms is done by means of the pillars
[556] and not by walls or screens. In the houses of wealthy families
[251] side rooms are built on both sides of the main house (Illus. 17).
[231] If the side rooms should have two stories, then the top story is
for the storage of grain and the ground floor for rearing domestic
514 animals. The toilet space in a Miao house is often in the pig
pen or in the cow stall, and used both by men and women.
M 251 Travelers in the Miao area find the using of the toilet a pain-
ful ordeal, because the stench is unbearable. Besides the
storage loft the Miao house often has underground storage, dug
underground about a chang deep and divided into two or three
bins for storing foreign potatoes or sweet potatoes. After the
sweet potatoes, etc. are stored underground, they are covered
with a bamboo-plaited cover, to allow free circulation of air.
If the potatoes spoil, it is necessary to wait for some time after
M the bamboo covering has been removed before going down.
[813] Or, one goes down with a light; if the light goes out, it indi-
M cates the presence of carbon dioxide, and one must refrain
●241 from entering. There is no difference between the agricultural
171 implements used by the Miao and by the Chinese, but the
352 furniture in a Miao house is much smaller in size than those
used by the Chinese (Illus. 17).

M 487 Roads. — The communication system in the Miao area
C 487 consists of land routes and waterways. The most important
waterway is the T'ung Ho, because it is navigable for a
comparatively long distance, and it goes deep into Miao
country. This river starts at Lu Ch'i and goes toward the mouth,
extending 17 li to Su-mu Ch'i, ten more li to Hsien-ch'i-t'ang,
another 21 li to Nung-t'an, 15 more li to T'an Ch'i, ten more

2:Ling & Ruey--80 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE MIAO

114 To study the economic life of any ethnic group it is necessary to study first its geographical environment, because the economic activities of mankind are greatly influenced by geographical conditions. Although man can conquer nature, it is only done within certain limits. In the previous chapter we have outlined the geography of the Miao area and have come to understand their natural environment. We are now prepared to proceed further to the description of their economic life. In this connection, however, a point has to be made clear. That is, the Chinese and the Miao have lived side by side for a long time, and although there is a boundary line separating them, the two groups, now at war, now at peace, have traded constantly and maintained very frequent contacts. Because of this, it goes without saying that the material culture of the Miao in western Hunan today has been largely influenced by the Chinese. What is discussed in this chapter is actually also the human geography of the Miao area. With reference to its economic aspect, because the Miao and the Chinese have lived together for so long, their economic activities at present are quite similar. It is difficult to determine what is characteristically Miao and what is not. Our discussion, however, will center as much as possible on the Miao people.

114 177 [439]

241 [114]

Agriculture. — Before we went into the Miao area we had read the account of agriculture in the Miao area in Feng-huang T'ing Chih: /Gazetteer of Feng-huang Sub-prefecture/: "They fell the undergrowth and burn it. When the fire is extinguished, they begin cultivation. This is the so-called slash and burn cultivation. After three or four years of planting, the land is abandoned and cultivation commences elsewhere, because the old field is no longer fertile." We had thought that the Miao were still at the primitive stage of

/54 cont./

241 [114] [133] [243] agriculture. After our investigation on the spot we realized that this account was all wrong. What is said in the Gazetteer refers only to one of the methods used by the Miao to cultivate mountainous terrain. The Miao area is all mountainous, hence there is much hilly land and few fields. The usual crops are various cereals, mainly planted on mountain slopes. The inclined field cannot take fertilizers. After three or four years of cultivation, the soil becomes barren. It becomes necessary to use the rotation method, to abandon it and pick new land to develop. This allows the old barren ground to recover its fertility. After three or four years a lush undergrowth gives it the appearance of wild land, which to the Miao indicates the recovery of the land's fertility. When spring comes the Miao fell the trees and brush, let them dry in the field, and then set fire to them. The charred remains and ash are left in the field to be used as fertilizer. This is the so-called slash and burn cultivation, otherwise known as to-yü /"to slash fields which are in the third year of cultivation/, and the field is called a field planted by fire or yü field. In the first year of cultivation the yield is often doubled. The mixed cereals [243] planted includes grain for the most part, maize, /55/ buckwheat, and kaoliang; still next hemp, beans, and pearl barley. [221] The sowing is generally done in April and May, and the harvesting in August and September.

243 [221] Besides the yü fields the Miao also plant plots of land which can be flooded for growing rice. Rice grown in flooded fields is transplanted in April and May and is harvested in August and September. The Miao area is very mountainous and there are very few level areas for rice fields. They are found in small number only in the small basins in the mountains and along the banks of streams and rivers (Illus. 27), the rest being terraced fields (Illus. 28, 29). The land of the [312] basins in the mountains are mainly irrigated by leading water from springs fed by mountain streams. Water wheels (Illus. 30) are used for irrigation in the terraced fields along the streams.(1)

/61 cont./

731 was due not to human nature but to environment. A policy
648 geared to the solution of the basic problem should try to improve the livelihood of the Miao and to remove the pressure of population through migration. Otherwise, Miao disturbances cannot be eliminated and will remain a source of trouble.

241 Restricted by the size of their land area the Miao seek to
433 utilize every inch of land. Comparatively level land is made into fields to be inundated. The slopes from the foot to the waist of the mountain are terraced. The higher slopes are made into yü fields. On mountain land unsuitable for grains are
[245 planted tung trees (Illus. 32), tea plants (Illus. 33), and pine
258 trees (Illus. 34). Oil can be extracted from tung and tea seeds,
313] and the pine tree yields lumber (Illus. 35), thus providing relatively good profits forming the major part of their income from auxiliary products. Hence, the Miao are experienced in planting the tung tree and tea plants.

245 The planting of the tung trees requires first the selection of a site where not only is the earth suited for the tung tree but where the location is convenient for picking and transportation. If the slope is precipitous, transportation is difficult, and moreover the seeds may roll down into the ravine while being picked. After a place has been picked, the "slash and burn" method of cultivation is used, first all the trees and undergrowth being cut down. After some ten days to a month of sunshine and wind blasts, the felled trees and grass gradually become dried up. Then they set fire to it, and the earth becomes scorched. The soil is dug after it has been well-soaked by rain. Digging generally is done in the spring, in the second and third month, and in the winter in the tenth and eleventh months. The earth has to be dug deep to loosen the soil so that the tung trees can grow tall and big and produce solid seeds, and live a long time. The selection of the tree is guided by the size of the tree and the abundance of the seeds, those of ball shape being preferred. The planting season is from the tenth month to the second month of the next year. Either seedlings are nursed for one

/66 cont./

245 prevent the seedlings from withering. According to the Miao the tea plant is very sturdy and can resist the cold. It blooms in the ninth and tenth months, the flowers being white in color, and fading in the eleventh month. After the second and third [262] months, "blisters /p'ao/" form, which can be picked and eaten. [443] They taste sweet and sour, and are often sold by the Miao [439] women at the market place. During the seventh and eighth months the fruits ripen, and after being picked they are dried in the sun for three or four days. They split open themselves, [258] disgorging two or four seeds. The seeds also must be dried in the sun in order tomake them dry and crisp, so that they will not get wormy and to insure a lot of oil when expressed.

258 Tung and tea seeds both yield oil. The Miao sell these [439] seeds to the Chinese oil stores, few Miao people expressing the oil themselves. The few who do express tea oil still use a local [412] method. The sun-dried tea seeds are pounded into bits in a mortar. Then they are dry-fried in a pan. Then water is added and brought to a boil. As bubbles of oil float on the surface of the boiling water, they are scooped out with an iron ladle and [415] placed in a bowl. The bubbles of oil are heated again to make the water evaporate, and the residue is tea oil. The residual paste of the tung or tea seeds after the oil has been expressed [241] is called tung paste or tea paste respectively. The tung paste [388] can be used as fertilizer. The tea paste can be used as soap [226] for laundry and also can be ground into powder to be thrown into the river to cause fish to suffocate so that they can be caught easily.

314 Wild indigo plants grow abundantly everywhere in the Miao [249] area. Although the Miao know how to cultivate indigo plants, they also gather wild indigo for dyeing. Wild indigo plants are one to two kung ch'ih in height. A big one has a stalk as thick as a man's thumb, a lone plant without any side branches, reaching toward the sky. The leaves are small and oval in shape, and contain a great deal of indigo. Every year in the eighth and ninth months when the weather is still warm and before the frost comes, the indigo leaves are at their most luxuriant. The Miao go out in numbers to pick wild indigo leaves.

/69 cont./

226 [227] from sinking, making it easier for the fish to bite. To catch fish with poison, they isolate a section of the river by erecting dams up and down stream, then cast the poison in the water to render the fish unconscious, when they are picked up. The [278] poisons used include tea paste, lime, potato seeds, willow leaves, and smartweed /t'u liao/. Tea paste, lime, and potato seeds have to be ground into fine powder before they are scattered in the water; the willow leaves and the smartweed are hashed into pulp with a hatchet, put into a bamboo sieve, and dipped into water. The pulp is rubbed against the bamboo with the hand to form a thick liquid, which is thrown into the water near a cleft or a cave in the cliff. When the fish smell the poison they become unconscious and float on the surface, and can be caught easily. Still another method is fishing in an illuminated pool. In such places as a shallow pool or a shallow place over a sand bar, they pick a suitable spot where they put a big rock and dig a deep pool called t'ang k'ou /"pool mouth"/. It is about a kung chih and a half in circumference and encircled with a screen of bamboo splints /Illus. 37-38 on pp. 70-71/ /72/, but with an opening left. Inside are laid slabs of stone, in which the fish love to seek shelter. When night comes the fisherman arrives with a torch. The fish are frightened by the light and struggle to escape, hitting the bamboo screen. Not a single fish is able to escape.

231 [492] [262] [241] The Miao rear cattle, horses, pigs, sheep, cats, dogs, chickens, and ducks. Cattle and pigs are the most important. Not all the cattle are for field work; some are slaughtered and sold for food. Pigs are used for food, and their manure for fertilizer. Horses, sheep, and ducks are comparatively fewer in number. Cats, dogs, and chickens are found in every household.

[245] Mulberry trees are grown in the Miao area. The Miao women also know how to raise silkworms. Formerly they did not know how to hatch the eggs. Every spring when the Chinese [439] started hatching silkworms, groups of them would carry baskets of native products to exchange for silkworms. They reared the

[text continues on p. 103]

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

in hollowed-out tree trunks lined with leaves of the wild banana. Every man has his hunting knife, carried in a wicker pouch at his back. The chopping knives for clearing the forest are heavier. Every family seems to have at least one gun, a clumsy, heavy, old-fashioned type, used in hunting. The pig trough is a hollow log, the family wash-basin a cross section of a big tree rudely scooped and hollowed out. The rice mortars too are cross sections of trees, and the mallets are wooden, not even stone-tipped, in most cases. The ever-present bamboo and rattan make the rice sieves, the woven baskets used as chicken coops, the beds, and the little baskets swung from the roof beam, in which the baby is put when it is not on its mother's back or in a hammock-like piece of cloth. The fishnets are woven of the native hemp, as are the bags which the women swing across their backs and use to carry corn, sweet potatoes, other tubers, or anything they happen to wish to move. Water is carried in rude wooden buckets, possibly in kerosene tins, if a family has somehow come into possession of such articles, in small earthenware jars, or in three foot length sections of large bamboo. These latter are used if the water must be gotten from a very shallow stream, as three or four of them lashed together hold almost as much as a bucket and can be laid down flat in the stream. Clothes are washed at the river side, on flat stones.

The people make their living by farming, depending on hunting and fishing to supplement their food supply. Different from the Chinese, they know nothing of fertilizing their fields except by the use of wood ashes. Neither do they know how to raise rice in paddy fields, but plant only the upland glutinous rice, of which they have ten or eleven varieties, most of them white. They clear the steep mountain sides by cutting out some of the brush and smaller timber, burn off the place, dig up the ground with their small hoes, and raise two or three crops of rice, maize, and sweet potatoes. When the rice is ripe it is cut and bound in small bundles. These bundles are placed in racks under thatched roofs to dry and sweat and later stored in the rice rooms in the houses, and beaten out and pounded as needed. When the fertility in one place is exhausted they go to another hillside and repeat the process. When all the hillsides within easy distance (what they call "easy distance" would be four hours' walk for a foreigner) are used up they have no recourse but to move their whole village, so move they do. One advantage of course is that the housewife does not need to clean her domicile, and the smoky, grimy house of several years' use can well be left—but it is a bitter life,

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

241

THIS SHOWS THE TERRIBLE WASTE OF TIMBER. THE MIAOS BURN THE GRASS AND FOLIAGE TO SOW THE UPLAND RICE.

at best. They are truly "the eternal pioneers," and one old-young woman told me she had moved *twelve* times in her life of forty-odd years.

231 241 262 Their few pigs they cannot afford to eat except at wedding feasts, but sell them to the Hainanese traders. Chickens and ducks they eat occasionally, and also prepare the salted eggs. They raise very few greens but occasionally will buy them from a neighbouring Loi village. Corn is raised a great deal—a small variety of maize that does very well on the hillsides. The heart of a certain variety of palm tree is a common food, and in times of famine roofs of trees and brakes, bark, anything, must be used to stay the pangs of hunger. A well-to-do family may own a few cows, but they have a curious custom which they often follow, of giving their cows to the neighbouring Lois to care for. The calves of course revert to the original owner, but the Lois use the animals to work their rice fields and to haul the great logs of hardwood to the rivers.

224 261 Bears are found in the mountains, and the Miao prepare pitfalls and traps for them, shooting them when they have been thus captured. A species of small antelope makes very good eating. Wild boar are also often captured, and likewise

Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

right, brought one to a cluster of seven Chinese houses about the Huang family temple. Four-tenths of a mile beyond was a Chung-chia village. In the other part of the valley were smaller villages of Cowrie Shell Miao and Chung-chia and the home of the large, extended family of Chinese of whom the *lien pao* official was a member.

The rest of the valley, except for one deep cleft, was made up of knolls and depressions and given over to fields in which rice was the chief fall crop, with tobacco, chillies, beans, maize, and millet playing a minor role, and wheat, broad beans, peas, and rape were the spring ones. Vegetable gardens, in which were grown a continous succession of vegetables, occupied the lower slopes of the nearest hills. There were bamboo and nut trees in the wood and edible bamboo in the thickets about the village. A little stream ran through that part of the valley in which Yang-chia-tsai lay and through the cleft mentioned above reached the end of the valley toward Lung-li, where it became a waterfall. A second stream watered the other part of the valley and flowed toward the south. From the springs and streams water was carried for household use. The presence of these sources of water and the pond gave the valley its name of Ting-shué-pa, meaning "divide where water is assured." The bamboo thickets and the wood furnished timber and faggots, both timber and bamboo being used for the construction of buildings and many articles of household and farm use. The mountains were a source of fuel in the form of faggots, grass, weeds, and fern. From them the women brought grass for raincapes and food for cattle at certain seasons of the year. At others the children took ponies, cattle, and water buffalo to the mountains for grazing. All those in the vicinity — Miao, Chung-chia, and Chinese — made use of springs and mountains, but the various groups kept fairly separate.

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which came about six inches below the knees instead of to the ankle. Their blouses had a sailor collar and the overpiece was of woven hemp. Besides they wore a belt and overpiece of braided straw to protect their clothes from the heavy baskets carried on the back. Neither of these groups of women, who attended the same market in Lung-li, braided the hair, and the latter group made a very large, looped knot at the back of the head. Their turban was wound around it as well as the rest of the head and thus became very large indeed.

Agriculture. This was essentially an agricultural village, in which one family owned enough land so that it rented a little, some owned land and had the help of relatives in working it at especially busy times, some owned land and worked it themselves, and a few were merely employees, though related to those for whom they worked, and treated as subordinate members of the family.

Although those who were educated knew about the foreign calendar followed by the Chinese Government, it meant almost nothing to them. What they consulted were the lunar calendar and the *Farmers' Almanac*. For them the year began with the lunar New Year (February 15 in 1942) and its festival days. This was the slack season of the year, and for the first month they did as little work as possible. The lofts were full of faggots and brushwood for fuel; the granaries were full of rice, both "big" and glutinous, white and black. The New Year pigs had been killed and made into smoked meat, cured meat, and sausage. There were hundreds of glutinous rice cakes, jars of rice wine, and much bean curd on hand. The gardens furnished a greater variety of vegetables than at any other season of the year. Therefore, for the first fifteen days always and, if possible, for longer the men sat about fires in the houses, talking, smoking their long-stemmed pipes, drinking a little wine, and doing a little gambling. The women sat about fires at various points in the village with the little children and babies, embroidering, separating the hemp fibers and making thread, mending, smoking, talking, and amusing themselves with the children.

*See p. 30.

[29a]

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The girls sat about two or three fires between the group of grave mounds and a bamboo thicket near the bullfight meadow, while they embroidered and entertained young men from other Cowrie Shell Miao villages in very lively fashion, teasing one another, snatching turbans and ornaments, and chasing. Some of them played bamboo flutes of their own manufacture and sang. About a third fire sat another group of women and their little ones. A group of young people and a few among the others went to the second or third market after the New Year, but the young folk went only for fun. Groups also went to other villages, nicely dressed and bearing gifts of wine and cured pork, and returned after two or three days. For a death which occurred during this season there was a longer period of feasting by day and dancing to the *lu sheng* (fig. 18, *a*, *b*)[a] and drum during the night. On the fifteenth of the first month some daughters returned to share the family feast. At the beginning of the second month the Cowrie Shell Miao community in Teh-hua *lien pao* in Kuei-ang Hsien had a bullfight, to which as many as possible of the older men and the young people of both sexes went.

As soon as the first month was over (the middle of March, 1942) and signs of spring appeared the women went to the mountains to lay in an extra supply of fuel in the form of firewood, with which they filled all the available space in the lofts. The chief occupation of the men at this time was the plowing and harrowing of fields. The draft animals used were cows and water buffalo of either sex. First the fields which were to serve as seed beds were plowed, harrowed, flooded, plowed, and harrowed again. Women also continued to work in vegetable gardens and fields. There were periods of warm, sunny days broken by severe thunder showers when it became unseasonably hot.

When the seed beds were ready men cast seed into them from the dikes (fig. 16, *a*). Then a branch or a line of branches, usually of bamboo or pine, were stuck in the fields to show that they were planted to rice. These seed beds were sometimes wide and long and

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very widely scattered near to and far from the village, so that when the plants were ready for transplanting they need not be carried so far to the permanent fields.

This plowing, harrowing, fertilizing, and seeding of fields to rice (figs. 15, *b*; 16, *a*) continued for more than a month. During that time the young people, both married and single, began the cleaning out of stables and carrying the straw and manure to fields into which the rice was later transplanted. I am not sure whether they were expected to initiate certain activities, or were just more enterprising, but the family in which I lived had their stables cleaned first. Perhaps it was because as the most scholarly of the village the men of this family could interpret the *Farmers' Almanac*. The work went on all day and there was much merriment connected with it. Some of the young men filled the baskets while the girls sat about and embroidered and joked with them. Even after they had carried their baskets (one on each end of a carrying pole) to a central point, they continued to embroider until Mo-mei gave a signal, whereupon they set off in a long file. First one, then a second, and then a third group of fields was visited, in different directions from the village but all belonging to the one family, whose holdings were comparatively extensive. At night the women of the household served a good meal to the whole company, for which they had made fresh bean curd.

On several days following this work continued and the stables of other households were cleaned. When it was a question of the household in which I lived, Mo-mei, the oldest daughter, set the pace, but she did not always make one of the group on other days. Rice in the seed beds was now well up above the water, making the fields look like lovely green lawns. One day I went with two of the women of our household to a field where they took out weeds, dug around plants of celery cabbage, beans and leeks, and cast in pulse. On another day the old mother put in the seed of chillies, using wood ashes as a top dressing.

During the third month (the second half of April and the first half of May, 1942) there was much rain, very welcome to the farmers because it insured the right amount of water

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for flooding the fields. There were days of rain followed by rainy nights so that at least part of the day was sunny. They continued the preparation of fields and the carrying of fertilizer and began the harvest of rape, wheat, beans and peas.

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For rape the whole plant was cut near the ground and the sheaves set, heads down, in the fields or along the beams of a barn or house. The seeds were later knocked out against the inside of a large, square wooden box in the field or on a threshing floor. For wheat each head was snapped off and thrown into a basket on a woman's back, to be dumped into the baskets on the carrying pole and taken to a mat on the threshing floor to be flailed. I helped twice with the reaping of wheat. Bean and pea plants were pulled up by the roots, bundled up, and hung up on the rafters to dry. When they were thoroughly dry the dirt was pounded off with a large wooden mallet, which could also be used to beat out the pulse. Or a flail was used. They were then sieved and winnowed in large, flat bamboo trays.

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One day fully half of the men of the village, under the direction of one of the older ones, were working together reroofing a house, while the young people went back and forth with their loads of fertilizer and empty baskets. However, the chief activity at this time was the preparation of fields into which rice, now several inches high, was transplanted later. Most of the fertilizer was carried to prepared fields, but some to fields not yet wholly cleared of other crops.

On the first of the fourth month I saw the members of our household working together to prepare a field which had been cleared of beans and rape. Two young men, one a member of the household, a relative who was something of a hired man, and one from another household, were plowing, the plows being drawn by water buffalo. The second nephew together with his wife formed one "team" and the son and his wife another to bring up water from the pond, along which this long field stretched, and pour it onto the field. They had attached ropes with sticks in them to the handles and to a point near the bottom of each bucket on each side, to hold by, so that they might together swing

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the bucket (regularly used for carrying water) down into the pond, up and over the bank (fig. 15, *e*). They got into a very nice rhythm. I had seen the second nephew turning a bean mill once, but aside from this that was the only real work I had seen either of these men do. The nephew seemed to be ashamed of it, too, for he stopped abruptly when he thought I was going to take his picture. However, evidently today everyone had to work. A younger boy was fishing and the other children playing nearby, so that it was quite a family party.

By the beginning of the fourth month (May 15, 1942) rice plants were ready for transplanting. Fields nearly to Lung-li, which is at a lower altitude, had already had plants set out in them (fig. 15, *a*). On the fourth of the month of the year I lived with them (May 18, 1942) our household again was first. They made quite an occasion of setting out the plants in a large square field, beyond the low hills and right beside a good-sized Chung-chia village. Very early the women of the family, with the exception of the old man's two wives, together with the women and girls of other households, bundled together the rice plants from one of the seed beds and piled them into their carrying baskets (fig. 16, *e*) — the same ones which had been used earlier to carry straw and manure. Two men were plowing and two harrowing in the flooded field when the long line of women approached and began tossing the bundles into the field. Before the plowing and harrowing were entirely finished the setting out of plants had begun. With Mo-mei setting the pace, each woman took a strip the width of the field, then turned and worked the length of it. They went home for a long lunch period about two o'clock. Afterward not all of them returned, but the work was finished well before dark. The usual good meal, featuring bean curd, was served. The family nonchalantly appropriated my bowls and chopsticks to use with theirs.

They were now in the midst of the busiest season of the year, for the harvest of wheat and its accompanying crops of broad beans, rape, and peas came just when the rice was ready for transplanting. One day I helped a widow (the chief shamaness of the village)

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241 with her two grandchildren, a boy of twelve and a girl of ten, who were reaping wheat. Some had been taken from the field. Now she was cutting the stalks about four inches from the ground. I helped the children lay the stalks together so that a number of heads could be struck off together, and to pick up what fell to the ground. At noon the boy went home with a load of wheat heads and returned with a basket of rice mixed with wheat, a dish of pickled green vegetable, and the necessary bowls and chopsticks. The women led us to a spring on the floor of the valley where we could get cold water to drink with our meal. I doubted the wisdom of drinking from a spring so near newly fertilized rice fields, but it was a very hot day. We brought a bowl of water back to the field so that the woman could sharpen her sickle on a small piece of stone she carried in a bamboo holder. We worked until well after sunset.

Although there was a good breeze, these days were very hot and everyone hoped for rain so that the fields could have a good flooding. Some of the fields from which the crops had been harvested were planted to maize and long beans. More fields which had crops in them were later planted to rice. By the middle of the fourth month (end of May, 1942) some former wheat fields were already planted to maize and soy beans, well up and requiring cultivation. Others were being plowed as they were cleared. In general, all fields that could be sufficiently flooded were given over to rice, the rest to maize, beans, tobacco, red chillies, and millet.

241 462 After the day in which sixteen women worked together to set out plants in the one large field, there were a few other occasions when a large group worked in the same field or adjacent ones (fig. 15, *a*). But in general women from several small households worked together in bundling up the rice plants (one man worked in one group), reaping wheat, transplanting, and so on, or each family took care of its own fields. While younger women were busy in the fields the older women in our household beat out palm, flailed wheat and winnowed it, sunned rice, and kept an eye on the children when they were not playing away from home.

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About this time, when the people had just about given up hope of rain in time for preparing the fields and transplanting rice, the rain came in a flood. (Beginning of June) It poured one whole night and there were hard showers and storms on the next day. It rained for two nights following, also. This was just the kind of a rain needed to make upland fields ready for plowing and harrowing and to flood the lower ones. Our family had spent three days just before this in a second bout of bucketing water from the pond into the large field. Again men of the family and related household plowed and men and women formed teams for lifting water. Others were transplanting rice into fields of deep mud with no water on top. It was a time of many activities – harvesting, sunning, flailing, and winnowing of wheat, bringing in plants of rape, beans and peas. Both wheat and rape featured the markets in Lung-li and Kou-ch'ang. Rape is used to make the oil burned in lamps.

Another rain a week later lasted two days. I went to Lung-li to market on the first day and had the exciting experience of racing the storm home successfully. The hard rain of this day and night filled the rice fields and flooded even some that were rather well upland. The buffalo bullfighting meadow became a little pond. Almost all of the wheat and its accompanying crops (literally that, for they were planted together in various combinations) were in before this hard rain, and only a few wheat fields had straw still standing in them. Most of them had been made ready for other crops. Also, nearly all the seed beds had been stripped of their fine stand of rice plants and made into fields with even rows, like the others. It was almost time for the village to take a little breathing spell.

The men worked as steadily as the women, for the fields for rice had to be plowed and harrowed at least twice, some three times — after the wheat was harvested, when they were flooded, and again just before the plants were set out. It was common to see men plowing or harrowing at one end of a field, or in an adjacent one, just before the women moved in with their bundles of plants. I saw women carrying the plow and harrow to the field, but only two harrowing. I saw a few men bun-

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312 dling up rice plants and carrying them to the
241 fields, but no men setting out plants.
243 I once tried my hand at helping and did fairly well at the bundling of rice plants — at least as well as the twelve year old girl — but they feared I would be too slow and clumsy at the transplanting. It was a nice little trick to gather up the plants in the right hand and feed them into the left, then swish them around in the water to get all the mud off the roots. Usually two handfuls were so prepared and laid down in the water while another was gathered. Then they were all put together, washed again, and tied with a length of straw, of which the worker had a bundle stuck into the back of her belt or laid on the stand of plants before her. The mud was more than knee deep and I found myself clumsy in moving around and getting one leg after the other out of the mud without losing my balance. The setting out of the plants required the ability to move backward in a lively fashion. That night they inquired solicitously after my waistline, fore and aft, but all I could report was a very bad sunburn just above the water line. Also I had got rather wet, for their sailor pants, rolled well up the thigh, were much better suited to that sort of thing than my knickers. I found that they were all having dysentery, and I got a touch of it, too.

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374 Foresight in gathering big bundles of faggots justified itself during this period, for no one had time to go to the mountains for fuel. They used at least one big bundle a day in our family for the fires under the big cooking bowl in the kitchen and under the little ones in the house, over which they cooked vegetables.

241 By the end of the first week of the fifth
243 month (end of June) the transplanting of rice
312 was complete. Then there was a season of cultivation, until the plants were large enough to shade the space between them. Women, and now and then a man, worked in family groups in each paddy, pulling out the weeds and tossing them on the dikes or treading them down into the mud. At the same time they had to cultivate vegetable gardens and the fields in which beans, corn, tobacco, chillies, and millet had been sown to take the place of wheat and other crops. Here they

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used the mattock, and as they worked they fertilized the plants with night soil and wood ashes mixed with animal manure. Our family also used some lime mixed with manure, which was left over from several loads carried to another village eighteen *li*[3] away. Toward the end of the fifth month several young men had taken out the pile in the room back of the kitchen in the new house and mixed it with manure, after which some of the village girls and women of our household carried it. It must have been promised for a certain day, for the trip was made in a drenching rain which made the road hard to travel. Mo-mei, the oldest daughter, was a member of this group.

It was interesting to note the attitude taken toward the transplanting of rice in different localities and among different people in one locality. In Yünnan among the Chinese near Kunming men bundled up the plants and transported them, while only women were allowed to set them out. I was told that this was a custom borrowed from the non-Chinese there, who believed that the women insured fertility. Here the women did all of it, with only a few men helping with either bundling or setting out. In both cases the men did the plowing and most of the harrowing. In the one Chinese family in this village and those between the valley and Lung-li I saw only men doing all of it.

While the busy season was in progress all the bundles of faggots in the lofts got used up, so now and then the women went to get more. Often it was much mixed with dried grass, fern, and so on, sometimes mostly of these. Also huge bundles of long, fresh grass for the animals, which were kept in the stables, were brought in. Women and children took water buffalo out once or twice a day for a soaking in the large pond and for feeding upon the rushes and reeds in it. But cultivation was the main task for all women, who took time out only to nurse a boil or catch up on washing and mending. The men went to market a great deal, most of them carrying wood in one form or another — planks, pieces of log, split firewood, faggots, bamboo poles. They seemed able, with what they could find

[3] A measure of length reckoned at one third of a mile.

to sell from time to time, just to get through nicely until rice harvest, for the one of the year before had been poor. One day a large bundle of mallow was brought in and the fiber stripped off to use in bundling up bunches of grass. These fibers are tough and strong and used a great deal in place of rope. 241 [283]

It was after the middle of the seventh month (end of August) that I returned from a trip to Kweiyang, and just about two weeks before the rice harvest. During these weeks the chief occupation of both men and women was again the bringing in of fuel—grass, fern, weeds, and green bushes. They piled the lofts full of them. All of these made a hot fire but much smoke and burned quickly. 374

Rice harvest began about the first of the eighth month (middle of September) and was the chief occupation of both men and women, with few exceptions. The women did most of the cutting of the plants, taking bunch after bunch in the left hand and cutting the stalks as near the ground as possible with the sharp sickle in the right. Sometimes the roots were exposed and had to be avoided. They could take as many as eight or nine in this way at one time, and lay them in rows for the beaters to take up. One or more large, square wooden boxes were set up in the field and men and women took up the bundles and beat the grain out into the box. These boxes were pushed about the field on wooden runners (the so-called summer-sled) as the cut grain in one section was beaten out and the women had gone to make it ready in another part of the field. If the field were a large one, as many as twenty would be cutting together; for the smallest two could take care of the cutting. One or more took up the bundles from which the grain had been beaten out and, making them into stacks, set them up about the field. They had a very neat and quick way of tying them. One or more filled baskets from the grain in the boxes and carried them two at a time by means of the carrying pole to the houses or to mats on the threshing floors. Some sheaves were also carried in and stored in the houses or hung up on the rafters. Twice during the day, toward the end of the morning and afternoon periods 243 512

about 1890 feet (.36 mile).

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241 231 245 Sometimes a day was taken to bring in more fuel, or grass for the animals. The water buffalo were taken out night and morning for a mud or water bath, and ponies were allowed to graze in the meadow, with a small boy to guard them. One day we cut in a field into which they had strayed and in which they had beaten down the plants. Another occupation at this time was the gathering of chestnuts and English walnuts. The custom of tree ownership was in evidence here. One day we gathered from a tree right back of the Huang family temple. One man got up into the tree and beat the branches. Others, including the children, gathered up the burrs and nuts. There was a good harvest. The children had fairly good-sized baskets full, from which they later ate as they wished. There were also several loads of nuts in the burrs, which sold in market for six dollars a *sheng*.[6] Later we gathered from a tree in the wood. Here the tree was not only shaken, but branches were cut off and thrown down, with the burrs on them. A smaller variety, which grew wild on the low bushes on the mountains, was also plentiful.

243 The last half of the eighth month was rather rainy (after September 20th), with hot, sunny days between hard rains. Fortunately most of the rice had been harvested, but there still remained some of the ordinary rice and *lo mi* which had been left in the fields. This was not beaten out there, but brought in in sheaves, having been cut with the knife blade, not the scythe. *Lo mi* (glutinous rice) straw was used for the making of rice straw sandals, while the other was used for thatch and many other purposes. That not used at once was stacked up around the trees in the wood, a very pretty sight. The rain did not keep people from markets, for grain, chillies, and other seasonable produce had to be sold. The chief other crops at this season were soy and red beans, tobacco, millet, and a wild plant they called *ying tzu*. All of these had to be sunned on the mats, in bundles, or festooned across the front of the houses. Some of the beans and some of the rice, from sheaves were

[6] One-tenth of a *tou* (see note 7, p. 35), or 31.6 cubic inches.

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flailed out. The first *lo mi* cakes of the season were made, stuffed with boiled beans and herbs. Bean curd was also made.

While the harvest was still incomplete they began the plowing, fertilizing, and harrowing of fields for the planting of winter crops of wheat, beans, peas, and rape. The same cleaning of stables took place, with the young people working in groups as in the spring and enjoying a special meal with bean curd as the chief dish at night. By the end of the ninth month the supply of fuel, which at one time filled the equivalent of a *chien* and a half in our house, was mostly used up. Again it was necessary to go out for more.

The weather during the tenth month (November) was very wet. Rainy days, or gray, misty ones, far outnumbered the even partially sunny ones. Consequently, the days were even shorter than the season of the year would naturally make them. Breakfast came between nine and ten o'clock by my watch. Then the cattle and water buffalo were taken out to graze by the children, women went for firewood, carrying a lunch with them, and returned just before dark for the evening meal and a little visiting before going to bed. They also tended vegetable gardens or sowed seed in the fields. The plowing, seeding, and carrying of fertilizer continued even after some fields had plants already well up. A few days were fine enough for sunning grain.

One of those days was the twenty-third of the tenth month (November 30). That evening and the next morning mats were laid on the threshing floor and the wooden machine for cleaning grain was brought out. Eight men with bags and baskets carried grain to a dealer in Lung-li on the twenty-fourth and sixteen men on the twenty-fifth of the tenth month. Each man carried four of the "small *tou*" [1] used in this district. This was for our one family. Before they went they had breakfast. Each man carried a large *lo mi* cake stuffed with beans for lunch, and they had a bean curd supper upon their return.

Even before the end of the rice harvest and the seeding of fields to winter crops, the festivities of the least busy season of the

[1] These weigh twenty-four *cân* (15 pounds), or 30 pounds.

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year began. During this period there was time for weddings, visits to other villages to "drink wine," and celebrate such events as *tso chia*,[8] and bullfights.[9] One bullfight was held at Hsin-ch'ang in Kuei-ting Hsien on the tenth of the eighth month (September 19), another at Yang-chia-sai on the tenth of the ninth month (October 19). A bride went from Yang-chia-sai on the sixth of the tenth month (November 13). On the third of the tenth month (November 10) several girls went to the village into which a girl from Yang-chia-sai had been married two years before, to celebrate *tso chia* with her in her new home. A girl was married into the village on the fifth of the eleventh month (December 12) and the old man's son took a second wife on the twenty-third of the second month of the next year (March 28, 1943).

Of course, even though this was perhaps the slackest season of the year, there was still much to be done in the way of cultivation of fields and gardens, and the bringing in of fuel against the period of almost complete leisure during the first lunar month. On sunny days grain had to be brought out and sunned, and some of that stored in sheaves sunned in the sheaves, beaten out into the wooden box, against an upturned millstone, or with the flail, dried, and stored. In preparation for the entertainment of guests, for the New Year feasts of the household, and that as little time as possible in the first month need be spent in preparing food, much time was also used in the making of glutinous rice cakes, rice wine, bean curd, cured and smoked pork, and sausage. The harvest had been abundant and the family could afford some new clothing, that those who attended bullfights and feasts might look their best and be a credit to the family. White cloth was purchased in the piece and dyed before being made up. All clothing and bedding, the houses, and their surroundings were cleaned and set in order. This is the agricultural calendar, followed year after year.

Implements and Technique. The technique of farming was identical with that of Chinese and Chung-chia of the neighborhood,

[8] See p. 51, note 2.
[9] See pp. 76 ff.

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241 462 with the exception of the fact that the Miao women seemed to do a greater proportion of the out-of-door work. That is, in a well-to-do Miao household the women worked just as hard as those in the poorer ones, but in a well-to-do Chinese family the women spent most of their time at home. The work of women will be discussed more in detail under Division of Labor.

241 412 The implements used were as follows: for breaking up and cultivation of the ground—plows, harrows, and mattocks. The plow (fig. 13, *d*) had an iron share like two overlapping shingles and one upright piece through the beam. The end of the beam was the handle. The harrow was two beams with iron spikes on the under side and a transverse piece at either end, the whole forming a rectangle with projecting ends. The mattock had a long, wooden handle and a blade of iron about six inches wide at the edge. The harness was a slightly bent wooden beam laid across the neck of the animal with a heavy rope from it under its neck and two light ropes to the implement. As the man plowed or harrowed he guided the animal by another cord attached to one side of the yoke. The plow had to be lifted a little when turning corners. In use the harrow was weighted with a large stone. For reaping, gathering grass, and gathering fuel the sickle was used. It had a short wooden handle and an iron blade, originally with a straight cutting edge and rounded outer edge, but with much sharpening becoming a crescent. The men had a wooden holder of the shape as shown in figure 10 which they fastened with a straw cord about the waist to the small of the back. The handle of the sickle was thrust into the hole in the top of this with the blade up. A little bamboo basket for the whetting stone was worn at the belt in front. For beating out the grain they used a square wooden box, four feet each way and two deep, an upturned stone, a flail, bamboo baskets, and a bamboo mat. The beater took up a bundle of rice and beat out the grain on the inside of the box or against the upturned stone set on the mat. Or the sheaves were laid end to end and flailed. The flail was two lengths of bamboo or sticks fastened to a short piece in such a way that the worker could hold one length in her hands and swing the

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241 412 other under, back, over and down (fig. 16, *d*). Two worked together sometimes, but not necessarily in rhythm. The woven baskets were shallow, with handles on the top of the 241 415 rim through which a carrying pole was thrust and secured by wooden pegs. The bamboo E285 mats in twilled pattern were as large as sixteen by nine feet. A two-inch bamboo pole was fastened to either end to help keep it flat while in use and then easily rolled up for storage.

FIG. 10. Wooden holder for sickle, front and side views.

Two types of basket had a great variety of uses. In a loosely woven one fertilizer was carried to the fields and bundles of rice plants taken from seed beds to fields (fig. 16, *e*). In closely woven ones grain and other crops were brought in (fig. 16, *e*, *f*). When grain was to be sunned it was brought out in these baskets to the mats on the threshing floor and at night it was carried back in them. In this case the worker usually used only one at a time and someone had to help her swing it up to one shoulder, where she held it by putting that hand on her hip. She steadied it with the other hand. In them grain and other produce were taken to market.

Bamboo scoops were used to lift the grain from mats to baskets and a piece of wood with one straight side and a long handle to push the grain around so that all might get the sun evenly. The grain was first spread evenly on the mat and the bits of straw, sticks, etc., swept out with the broom of twigs. This was done several times. After a while the grain was all swept to the edges to allow the center to dry thoroughly and then to the center to allow the edges of the mat to dry. After this the mat was folded over the pile until it was possible to get several people together to put the grain into the baskets and 241 carry it to loft or granary. For more careful 412 cutting of rice straw the women had a knife blade set in one side of a more or less fancy shaped piece of wood or bamboo. This could

4:Michey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

also be used for cutting the fibers from hemp stalks. Another small paring knife was used to separate the inner fiber from the thin bark.

For the hulling of grain (fig. 16, *b*) the following implement was used: A log shaped to a plank at one end and fitted with a pestle at the other lay between two posts set in the ground and was held straight by a log set in crosswise in front of them. There was a hole under the plank and one under the pestle. The grain was poured into the hole under the pestle. The operator stood with one foot on the ground and the other on the plank. As she pushed it up and down she swept the grain back into the hole with a small bamboo broom on a long handle. The chaff was sold in market.

For the cleaning of grain there was a wooden thresher set up on four legs, to a height of four and a half feet over all. Its essential elements were a hopper with two straight and two shorter, sloping sides, into which grain was poured from the top (fig. 16, *c*); a chute through which grain fell into a basket or onto a mat on the ground; another chute through which some grain mixed with chaff fell onto the ground; and a wheel with four blades, turned by a handle which stuck out as an extension of the axle. The end of the thresher opposite the wheel was open and chaff flew out through this. Until they began to turn the wheel, the hopper was kept closed by a partition controlled by a handle set in the side of the machine. All parts of this machine were of wood.

The iron parts of all implements were bought in market by the villagers, who dealt with certain Chinese workers in iron, or had them made by one of two blacksmiths in the *hsien* city. Carrying poles, yokes, and the wooden parts were also bought in market, as they were made by craftsmen skilled in their manufacture or of wood which the villagers did not have. But, as they had their own trees and bamboo, some wooden implements, wooden parts of tools, and all articles of bamboo except the small, covered basket carried on long trips were made in the village, either by the householder himself or by someone more skilled in the making of certain things. Thus, while I was there our family called in a Miao from another village to make

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

water casks and buckets for carrying or raising water, a man from the same village to make bamboo scoops and baskets, and a Chinese carpenter to make two large, racheted water wheels for a mill. The old man who moved away from the village was a head carpenter, capable of directing the work of making and setting up the framework of a house, and also skilled in working with bamboo. One of his sons had this ability.

Other bamboo baskets were used to carry small pigs to market, to bring in green stuff from the garden, to carry in the heads of wheat, and for the storage of grain.

Animals and Birds. In the village of Yang-chia-sai there were just one female pony and her colt, which belonged to the wealthiest family and were used for the transportation of grain to market a few times a year. To service this mare a pony was brought in from outside. There were water buffalo and "yellow cows" used for plowing and harrowing, enough for the needs of all households in each family group. The milk was not drunk by the people. Dogs were used for guarding and as scavengers. There were a number of cats. Every household had chickens and most of them a pig. There were also several caged pheasants and two households had pigeons. Some of the young men had caged thrushes which they brought out in the spring to sing against one another (fig. 17, *e*). They would also whistle to them to make them sing. A number of these were taken in their cages to the spring bullfight near Yang-niu-ts'un.

Chickens, dogs, and cats went where they wished, except into the grain on the mats, but stables or pens were provided for the other animals. Ducks and geese were driven to the pond in the morning, watched, and brought in again at night. Pigeons roosted under the eaves. Pheasants were kept in large wooden cages in the doorway.

Not every household had cows and water buffalo, but closely related households worked first one and then another field belonging to the group, so that there were enough draft animals for all. The most well-to-do household had four water buffalo and two cows.

Division of Labor. It will be seen from the discussion of Agriculture, that the lion's share of the work fell to the women. Only

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-7)1967 AES Misc AES

462 only
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Rarely did a man do any of the cooking. Butchering was done by men, but the preservation of meat and the preparation of dishes from meats was usually taken care of by women. They dried beef by placing the pieces on sticks across the opening in the stove from which a large cooking bowl had been removed and keeping a fire going under it. They cured pork and made sausage. Meat was smoked simply by hanging the pieces up over the floor firepit.

462
241

With the help of an older man now and then, women took full charge of kitchen gardens, from whence came vegetables used by the household for their own food or taken to market, and green stuff for the feeding of animals. They prepared the mash for cattle and ponies as well as the swill for pigs, and fed them. They also did most of the work in other fields after the plowing and harrowing were finished. If the ground was broken up not with the plow but the mattock, they did that, too. And cultivation from the sowing of the seed (the casting of rice into the seed beds excepted), through weeding, fertilizing, and transplanting to reaping was largely the work of women.

They gathered most of the firewood and other fuel, much of the grass for animals and for the raincapes they themselves made, and carried most of the water from springs for household use. They did their share of the cleaning of stables and carrying the straw and manure to the fields. They carried all the night soil from cesspools and applied it as fertilizer. If the pond was low enough in the spring, they got down into the thigh-deep mud and dug for the water chestnut known as *tzu ku*. Men, women, boys, and girls made a picnic of wading waist deep in the pond and "feeling" for fish and large snails, for food.

They bundled up the rice plants in the seed beds, transported them, and set them out. They reaped wheat and its attendant crops, flailed out the grain, winnowed and sunned it, dried the plants of rape, beans and peas, beat out the seeds and pulse. They cut the rice plants, both ordinary rice with the sickle and glutinous rice with a knife, helped to beat it out and transport the grain and straw, sunned, cleaned, winnowed, and hulled the grain, and

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1967 AE5 Misc AE5

from the straw of glutinous rice made sandals.

They raised hemp in their gardens, cut it, stripped, dried, and bleached the fibers, separated the strands, and from them made the two grades of thread — one for sewing and mending and one for weaving into cloth. They gathered and dried nutgalls and from them prepared a dye, by which they dyed white cloth bought in piece in the market an even, almost black blue. They made all the clothing for themselves and their families and their bedding. They wove the straw comforter, too. Girls and younger women made the embroidery on the overpiece, front apron, and turban scarf, and wove belts, while the older women made hemp thread and did the weaving of cloth for the back apron and bands for the baby pad. It was the older women who wove the straw comforter on a vertical loom.

Three types of loom were used. First there was that described in the making of the belt. Second, there was the vertical loom used for the weaving of straw comforters. This had two beams, one high and one near the floor, from which the warp ropes of twisted straw went back and forth. Two of the poles supporting the rafters served as uprights. The weft was similar to the warp, except that straw ends were left sticking out so that the result was smooth on one side and had a nap on the other. The weft was sent through by hand, in and out, over and under successive threads as in the weaving of a rug or carpet. The third was used for the weaving of hemp cloth and bands.

Set on the floor was a substantial frame of two by fours about eight feet long and three wide, with pieces to brace it along the sides and, a little lower down, across the ends, also one about two feet from one end. The upper pieces extended two feet beyond the frame at each end. Into this frame was set another, lighter one, going into the upper horizontal pieces at the back, but down into the bracing piece at the front. It had a horizontal brace about a foot above the main frame, across the front of this lighter frame.

In the back, just in front of the uprights of this second frame, a board was put across for the weaver to sit upon. At the front end the yarn beam rolled in slots in the frame and

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AES Misc AES

The next day after a baby was born, the mother appeared with it in a pad on her back, and in a few days she was doing regular work again. As long as the baby was fed its mother's milk only, she carried it thus about her work at all times and of all kinds, especially if there was no older woman or child to carry it while it was asleep. She swung it down from her back and laid it to sleep on the pad in fine, warm weather, while she worked. On rainy days the children gathered around her and received some much-needed discipline as she sewed and mended.

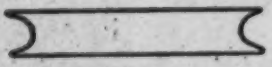

FIG. 11. Bamboo shuttle.

Women sometimes quietly watched animals as they grazed or ducks and geese as they swam on the pond. After the stable was built for House 11, the pit in the north room was filled in. One day I heard a pounding and discovered a woman of the household bending over and pounding with a heavy wooden mallet the clay which, well mixed with water, had been thrown into the pit until it made a floor level with the floors in the other rooms of the house. At another time I saw a woman making a clay floor in a granary. Women regulated the activities of the household and of cultivation, did some of the transporting of grain and other produce to market, the selling, and the purchase of supplies there.

Men did the plowing and harrowing, with only an occasional woman doing the latter. They cast the rice into the seed beds. Women put in other seeds. Occasionally an older man worked in fields or gardens. Men cut timber, sawed lumber into planks and beams, cut down bamboo poles, cut wood into lengths for firewood, shaped poles, and did most of the transporting of wood to market, though women sometimes carried a lighter load. Men helped with the gathering of fuel and grass when the need was most pressing and similarly did some of the carrying of water. They did an almost equal share of the cleaning of stables and transporting and spreading of fertilizer. They did a little more than an even share of the hauling out of grain in the field

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

462 and transporting it therefrom. They helped with the carrying out of grain and carrying
241 it in again at night, when it had been sunned on the mats.

462 One or two men swung the large wooden
252 mallets by means of which glutinous rice paste was beaten in a stone mortar to the right consistency for shaping. Men did the butchering of animals. They did most of the cutting of tobacco and the making of its leaves into festoons for drying.

462 Men worked in large groups to bring the
342 stone for a building's foundation, transport,
412 bark and trim the logs, and from them make planks and beams. They fitted them together according to the directions of a head carpenter and set up the frame. They did the roofing of houses, whether the laying on of thatch or the placing of tile. They also made articles of wood, such as the wooden parts of some tools and implements, water casks, and buckets, and of bamboo, such as baskets, scoops, and mats. There were no special craftsmen in the village other than those who were especially skilled in the making of wooden and bamboo articles. When a building was constructed the owner made the stone foundation and other villagers barked the logs, sawed the planks, shaped the pieces of the frame, assembled it under the direction of one old man. Men might be called in from other villages for this work. In Yang-niu-ts'un local men not only did the work of building a new house but also made articles needed in it.

462 Men sometimes took charge of children,
855 even to carrying a baby on the back while
622 plowing. They were apt to be more indulgent than the mothers, and the children enjoyed being with them. Contacts with the
875 outside world, other than a certain amount of
648 buying and selling and social visiting with other Cowrie Shell Miao, were carried on by the men. Certain men of the village were heads of a *pao*, ten families, the smallest division in the Chinese political system of the district, and one older man with leisure and education was the chief of these. Small matters came before them, and only when they could not settle a matter was it taken to the *lien* (group of) *pao*, perhaps even to the *hsien* officials. Two men in this village have been teachers in the local school.

462 It has already been noted that men and
241 women worked together in such things as the cleaning of stables and the carrying of fertilizer, the transplanting and harvesting of rice, and the transportation of goods to market.

857 Children also had their duties to perform. Older children took care of smaller ones, carrying them on their backs when they were asleep or wanted to be carried, watching them as they played, teaching them songs, and otherwise amusing them. From the time when they were just about able to toddle around they imitated the actions of their elders and gradually began to do a larger and larger share of the work. One girl of twelve was able to do almost as well as women twice her age in field work, but her loads of faggots were smaller. Children did most of the watching of animals while they grazed. They carried a lunch of cold rice in a little square, covered basket and stayed the whole day on the mountains or along the dikes. Boys learned to work in wood and bamboo by watching their elders.

443 **Markets and Sources of Income.** Markets were held in the *hsien* cities and in market villages. These were held every sixth day and so planned that merchants might go from one to the other of six markets in turn. In the *hsien* cities there were also "rice" or "little" markets held on every other day between the large, or regular markets. Lung-li was six miles from Yang-chia-sai, Kou-ch'ang in Kueiting Hsien, whose market was held the next day after each large Lung-li market, was about a mile farther and by a more difficult road. Most of the buying and selling from Yang-chia-sai was done in Lung-li. Kou-ch'ang was favored for certain local products such as seed grain.

Like Kweiyang, the *hsien* city of Lung-li was in an open plain, but a narrow one. The space between the mountains was sufficient for a walled town of one long street between the east and west gates and one or two on either side. There were fields outside the city walls. Its normal population was between three and four thousand, augmented during the war by the coming of some "companies" for the installation and repair of charcoal burners in motor lorries and the distillation of grain alcohol for fuel, an Army officers' train-

101 sing in their deeply moving sagas of the sanguinary
175 defeats inflicted on their ancestors by the Chinese. From the *Shu Ching* (the Chinese Book of History), we learn that four thousand years ago the Miao-tzu were strongly entrenched in Hunan, where they occasioned considerable trouble to such historic figures as Shun* and his redoubtable successor the Great Yu. Since those faraway days the Miao-tzu have been gradually dispossessed of their lands, driven to the West and brought into subjection, until to-day, though they still retain their distinctive dress and customs, they are entirely under Chinese rule and are called "tame Miao-tzu". This means they have learned agriculture and pay taxes. As recently as one hundred and fifty years ago there were "*seng*" or Independent Miao-tzu, but now all have lost their independence. They are being slowly crushed out or absorbed by the immortal Chinese, and as these have increased the Miao have decreased. In 1860 a great insurrection of the Black Miao broke out in Kweichow, but though it lasted nine years it was finally quelled with indescribable cruelty.

In North-East Yunnan and North-West Kweichow there is to be found to-day a patch of some fifty thousand Flowery Miao and it is with these
262 that this book is mainly concerned. All are
[241] agriculturalists and grow their own food-stuffs; the daily meal consists of steamed wheat, maize, oats, millet or buckwheat and vegetables, with meat not more frequently than once a month. Maize cooked

*Mythical first Emperor of China.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

101 are also called TAu TAu Miao or Basket Miao because the women wear hats that are like small bamboo baskets inside. Near Laowat'an 老瓦寨 the Ch'uan Miao are also called Ch'ing Chi Miao because their clothing resembles the plumage of a certain wild pheasant. Near Chên Hsiung the Ch'uan Miao are also called Ho Shang Miao 和尚苗 or Buddhist Priest Miao because their clothing resembles that of a Buddhist monk. The Ch'uan Miao are also called Hmoↄ Swa or Chinese Miao because they have been much influenced by Chinese language and customs and the men dress like the Chinese.

III. ECONOMIC LIFE

262 241 231 The food varies slightly in different localities and corresponds closely to that of the Chinese neighbors. The legends indicate that in former days there was a greater dependence on wild game, fruit, berries and vegetables.[4] The supply of these has lessened as the land has become more thickly populated. Even to-day in times of famine the poor avoid starvation by eating wild herbs, roots, berries and fruit. In the more favored localities there are rice fields and rice is the principal food of well-to-do people. Most of the fields are so steep that rice cannot be planted so that corn is the main staple of diet. It can be made into biscuits but very often it is ground and boiled and eaten, like rice, out of bowls with chopsticks. It is then called *pao ku fan* 包穀飯 meaning corn-rice or corn-food. Wheat, oats and buckwheat are also cultivated and made into biscuits. The garden supplies beans, peas, onions, turnips, cabbage, carrots and other vegetables. Pigs, cows, water-buffalo, sheep, goats, chickens, ducks and geese are raised and used for food, supplemented by fish and the flesh of wild birds and animals. Dog-meat is sometimes eaten by the poorest people, as among the Chinese, and also the flesh of snakes. The black snake is more often eaten than other snakes. Magpies are more often eaten than crows. House rats are seldom eaten while mountain rats are considered a delicacy by all. Hawks are seldom eaten for food but their flesh is used as medicine.

[278]

262 Generally only the well-to-do eat rice and the poor eat corn meal. By the wealthy, meat is eaten once in several days, by the poorer, once in several weeks and by the poorest only at feasts and festivals. Vegetables are used whenever

4. One summer I spent my vacation in the high mountains beyond Mupin 木邦. I found that the local hunters, herders and medicine gatherers were quite dependant on wild vegetables for food and that over twenty species of wild vegetables were edible either in a raw state or when cooked. There were three species of wild onions and one of wild celery, and a native counted twenty-two species that he knew of.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

available but this is only for about half the year. Eggs are eaten or / on special occasions.[5]

The Ch'uan Miao are an agricultural people. They are all sons of the soil and get their living from the soil. Even those who are blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, hunters, priests or shamans have farms, sometimes owned but generally rented, and they depend primarily on farming for a living. Sometimes there are houses that are only a few rods apart but I have not seen or heard of a single Ch'uan Miao village or a locality that could boast of a single street.

In former days when land was plentiful and forests were abundant, a man often got his farm by cutting down the trees in a forest and later, when the wood was dry, burning off the trees and grass. This, of course, left a rich virgin soil. After a few years the land became less productive and the owner deserted it and made another clearing. Later the deserted land could again be used profitably. There are no longer such unclaimed virgin forests so that the Ch'uan Miao are obliged to keep their farms productive by means of fertilization.

The domestic animals and fowl are cattle, horses, water-buffalo, mules, donkeys, sheep, goats, dogs, cats, chickens, ducks and geese. Horses are not used for plowing but as riding and pack animals. Water-buffalo are generally used for plowing and harrowing in the rice fields while cattle are used in the dry fields and gardens. Mules and donkeys are less common than horses. There are many sheep in Yunnan Province but few in Szechwan where goats are more common. Every family has at least one watch-dog and there is a special breed of hunting-dogs. Cats are kept in families that are not too poor to afford them. Chickens are found in nearly every home but ducks and geese are less common. There are fewer water-buffalo and more horses and cattle among the Ch'uan Miao in Yunnan than in Szechwan. Cattle, horses, mules, donkeys, sheep or goats, pigs and water-buffalo are kept in barns that are near houses or are actually parts of the houses. Cats, dogs and chickens sleep inside the houses where they roam about unrestrained.

The farming implements do not differ from those of the Chinese. The same plows, harrows, hoes or mattocks, sickles, flails, and so on are used. The plow consists of a naturally crooked tree to which are attached an iron point and a wooden

5. R. G. Agnew investigated the diet of the Ch'uan Miao near Lo Piao and found that malnutrition was quite noticeable in most families and is a fundamental cause of the high death-rate, especially of children. He recommended that eggs be eaten for phosphorus and albumen, milk for minerals and vitamins, fruit for vitamin C and soya beans and vegetables for minerals and vitamins.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

341 412 handle. The harrow is made of thick boards or beams through which iron spikes are driven. The hoe, pick or mattock has a long wooden handle and only one point. The sickle used for reaping has a short wooden handle and a curved iron blade. Rice is threshed by holding a bunch of the rice straw in the hands and beating the heads on the inside of a large wooden box into which the grain falls until all the grain is beaten off the stalks. Wheat and oats are threshed by means of flails by men or women who strike the grain in succession. The plow can be used in the rice paddies and on other level fields but much of the land is so steep that it can be cultivated only by means of the hoe. Some of the land is so steep that it [311] cannot be cultivated. This is a valuable source of supply for firewood, lumber and medicinal herbs and is useful as pastureland.

342 The houses are built like those of the Chinese. The roofs are made of straw or of reeds or more rarely of tile. The walls may be of beaten clay, of cornstalks tied together, of bamboo strips woven together and plastered with clay, and this possibly whitewashed, or of lumber. The simplest houses are oblong, consisting of one or two rooms. Sometimes there are no windows in the smallest and simplest houses and only one or two doors. As the houses vary in size and complexity, they may be oblong or triangular and consisting of two sections at right angles to each other, or of three sections with two parallel sides and a third section joining them across their ends or they may have four sides enclosing an open court or "heavenly well." There is only one story but sometimes there is a loft with or without windows.[6]

Some people live in natural caves. They are the poorest folk who cannot afford to make or to purchase homes. The legends indicate that in the past cave-dwelling was much more common than it is to-day. In times of war or when brigands approach, many families move into caves which serve as strongholds until the danger is past. Only natural caves are used in this way but many of them have been artificially improved so that they are almost impregnable.

712 There were formerly many fortified places called in Chinese *chai tzŭ* 寨子 where groups of houses were clustered together for protection. This is indicated by the names of places such as Wang Wu Chai 王武寨 and by the frequent references to fortified places in the legends. To-day there

6. People do not sleep in the loft. There they store their rice, corn, beans and other grains and baskets, rain hats and tools. In the poorer homes the windows are small square holes with vertical slats of wood or bamboo to keep out birds, animals and people. The best houses have wooden lattice windows made by Chinese carpenters.

10: Graham E-5 (192?-?)1954 AE5 Miao AE5

101 The Miao call themselves Hmong, and the Ch'uan Miao call themselves Hmong Bo or old Miao, because they believe that they are descended from a very ancient race. They are also called Hmong Gleh or White Miao because in some localities they wear or have worn white clothing.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

175 References to the Miao are found in the earliest Chinese literature. It is stated that the San Miao, who could not be pacified, were exiled to the province of Kansu, where they apparently disappeared.

Some of the Miao were absorbed, but others migrated southward or westward as the Chinese advanced, and their descendants are found on the Island of Hainan, in Indo-China, and in the southern and southwestern provinces of China. There are historic records of forced migrations of the Miao people from Kwangtung and Kwangsi Provinces westward into Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan, one of which occurred in 1733 under the Emperor Yung Cheng 雍正. The Ch'uan Miao have a legend that years ago, after a war with the Chinese in which they were defeated, they were forced to migrate, with their hands tied behind their backs, to the place where they now live.

None of the histories of Kweichow or of its principal cities or prefectures mentions the Ch'uan Miao, and the Yunnan histories never mention them as Ch'uan Miao, and generally not at all. The Chao T'ung Hsien Chih mentions them as White Miao and merely states that they are there and that they are called White Miao because they wear white clothing. In descriptions of Miao customs those of the White Miao are not distinguished from those of the Hua Miao. In the gazetteers of southern Szechwan, such as the Hsü Chou Fu Chih, they are mentioned only when they engaged in wars with the Chinese and had to be pacified, and there is no description of their customs. The fact is that aside from the articles of Dr. W. R. Morse, Dr. Gordon Agnew, Prof. William G. Sewell, and the writer, most of which were published in the Journal of the West China Border Research Society, these people have practically never been mentioned in historic or scientific literature.

ECONOMIC LIFE

241 463 Agriculture is the principal occupation. These people are truly "sons of the soil" and get their living from the land. Even those who are blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, hunters, priests, shamans, or in recent years teachers, generally depend primarily on farms or gardens for a livelihood. A few own their farms, but most of them rent from the Chinese. One Chinese farmer asserted that a Miao family had rented the same farm from the same family for at least 200 years.

342 The homes of the Ch'uan Miao are much the same as those of the Chinese, especially the Chinese of the poorer classes. The floors and walls are generally of pounded clay, but sometimes the walls are of wood or bamboo and plaster, or even of cornstalks. The roofs are generally of straw or grass, but some Ch'uan 353 Miao have tile-roofed houses. There are rarely any pictures or decorations on the walls, and the main pieces of furniture are square or round tables, long stools, beds, and chairs.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

beds, and chairs. The stoves are generally, like those of the Chinese, of clay and stones or bricks, but sometimes one is seen that is merely a square hole in the ground, a continuation of a very ancient custom.

The principal tools and utensils, which are like those of the Chinese, are the plow, the curved sickle for cutting grass and wood, the hoe or pick, the ax or hatchet, the hammer, saw, knife, spoon, ladle, rice-steamer, loom, and the iron pot or cooking vessel.

The domestic animals are the horse, mule, donkey, water buffalo, cow, pig dog, cat, sheep, goat, chicken, duck, and goose.

The principal food is corn meal cooked like porridge, but those who are able to get it eat rice. This diet is supplemented by vegetables, meat, and wild fruit and berries found in the woods. The investigations by Dr. Gordon Agnew showed that many Ch'uan Miao suffer from malnutrition.

Women weave cloth on home-made wooden looms, and they generally do the cooking. Both men and women work in the fields, but only men do the plowing. Sewing and embroidery work are done by women and girls. Hunting is a popular pastime of men and boys, especially during the winter months when there is little farm work to do.

Formerly most of their clothing was made of hemp cloth, which was undyed and therefore white, woven on their looms by the women. This evidently explains why they were called "White Miao." Whether the Ch'uan Miao belong or have belonged to the White Miao group of southern Kweichow is a problem yet to be solved. Today much of their clothing is made of blue cotton cloth bought from the Chinese.

In former years the clothing of the Ch'uan Miao, both men and women, that was worn on festive occasions and often to markets was beautifully embroidered and colored. Some of the embroidery, such as that of the handkerchiefs, is like that of the Chinese peasant's cross-stitch embroidery, but most of it, and that which is finest and best, includes beautiful designs found widely among non-Chinese people in southern and central Asia, extending even into central Europe. The best skirts of the women are pleated and dyed in a manner resembling somewhat the batiks of Java. The Ch'uan Miao men no longer wear embroidered garments, and the women are imitating, to save time, the coarser of the Chinese embroideries. This is bringing about the loss of a fine and beautiful art.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The family is the social unit, and the Ch'uan Miao family closely resembles that of the Chinese. The oldest male is the head of the family, and all his descendants, except married daughters, and including wives of sons and grandsons, generally live together in the same house. After marriage the woman belongs to the family of her husband. All having the same name are regarded as belonging to the same larger family and are not allowed to intermarry. Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and is expressed in elaborate funeral and other ceremonies.

While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors to the south, no

[13 cont.]

871 corrupt and did untold harm. Since the coming of the mission-
797 aries to the Miao area, churches and schools were established,
871 and those who were converted to the Christian religion were given an education. Today there are quite a few Miao who have received a higher education with the help of the church. However, it is regrettable that under the influence of the church, the religious element is too strong. In the 14th year
871 of the Republic [sic. It should probably be the 24th year of
648 the Republic, or 1935.] when Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek as head of the government came to Kweichow, he saw with his own eyes the low cultural level of the Miao-I and planned to assimilate them through education. The next year the government issued an order to encourage Miao-I education and appropriated a large sum of money for the purpose. In the same year the Provincial Rural Normal School was established at Ch'ing-yen, but its students were not all children of the Miao-I, sixty or seventy percent being Chinese who pretended to be Miao-I. Again, in the 25th year of the Republic [1936] when General Yang Sen was stationed at An-shun he promoted Miao education through his army by establishing three elementary schools with some good results. But not long afterwards his troops were transferred to the front and his education program was abandoned. Aside from these attempts, the provincial
872 government established an elementary school in each of the
648 twelve hsien at Kweiyang, Huang-p'ing, Li-po, T'ai-kung, Wei-ning, An-nan, Kuan-ling, Tan-chiang, Shui-ch'eng, Ting-fan, Lo-tien and Pa-chai, where the Miao-I congregate. In other hsien areas there are short-term elementary schools that also admit Miao-I children. The educational system for the Miao-I in Kweichow is rudimentary at best and with the extensive distribution of the Miao-I over a wide area the work is like extinguishing a wagonful of burning fuel with a cup of water -- not at all effective or enough.

241 3) Occupations. The Miao-I people, being retarded in cultural development, have just entered the stage of agricultural community, and so their chief occupation is farming. [14] Those Miao-I living in the northwest of the province have high

[14 cont.]

241 mountain terrain with poor soil, in which they can grow only corn, buckwheat and mixed grains. They also rear cattle, [231] horses, pigs, and principally sheep. At Wei-ning and Ta-ting, where the territory is highly mountainous, the climate is cold, and the population is thin; it is unfit for raising crops but best fit for grazing. In the southeast the Miao-I areas are comparatively better and suitable for rice cultivation. Besides [283] agriculture they are also engaged in simple handicraft industries, [286] such as home spinning and weaving. The commercial centers 443 of the Miao-I in all areas are the village fairs held during the day for the bartering of goods. The fairs are located like a network in some convenient spots in the cities, on a vacant lot, or on the slope of a hill. They are named after certain cyclic animals such as chicken, dog, cow and so on. At the time of the fair men and women who come from all places number from several hundred to several thousand. At the fair everyday articles of household use are displayed in rows of adjoining straw sheds. A fair is a scene of activity and gaiety. The villages in 778 which the Miao-I live are often endowed with rich resources, but 314 their belief in the earth as the dwelling place of the dragon spirit 316 forbids them to exploit its wealth, such as felling the trees for 784 timber and digging the mines for minerals. Hence their occupations are limited and their culture is backward.

6. Conclusion

000 Having learned from the foregoing the actual conditions of the Miao-I societies in Kweichow, we can realize their precarious situation. Today, enemy hoofs have ravaged half of the country, while the Miao-I areas have risen in importance with the din of guns in our war of resistance. We cannot afford any longer to allow the Miao-I people, who are owners of their lands, to muddle through life in their primitive way of living. It is hoped that the government administration and leaders of the society will begin to pay attention to the Miao-I communities,

[181 cont.]
796 sticks are thrown into the temple of the Earth God outside the
[769] village.

The New Year activities of the Chung-chia are slightly different from those of the Hua Miao and Ch'ing-Miao. On the first day of the year they also wear new clothes and decorate their doorway. At about seven o'clock in the morning they make sacrifices to their ancestors in the hall with several bowls of rice and meat while incense and candles are burned and firecrackers are set off. The whole family, old and young, male and female, all participate in the ceremony as they perform the ritual of "three kneelings and nine kowtows." After the sacrifice, the family settles down to a New Year feast in the hall, after which they stop working and laugh and joke all day. Their restrictions are similar to those of the Hua Miao and Ch'ing Miao. But the Chung-chia have a peculiar superstition that if
[787] on the first day of the year a dog should bark after cockcrow, there would surely be a robbery in the village; and if the crow caws first, there would surely be many sicknesses among them during the year; on the other hand, if another animal should make a noise before the dog and the crow, then there would be a very lucky year ahead. All these superstitious notions are firmly believed in by the Chung-Chia, and for this reason early in the morning of the New Year's day all the families would cock their ears to listen to the bird or animal that first makes noise.

241 [182] On the second day of the New Year, the Hua Miao
796 and the Ch'ing Miao would gather their family members after breakfast and with spades on their shoulders and wearing straw hats they would march off to their farms to do a little ploughing and digging, the idea being that this first "earth-removing" inaugurates a year's agricultural activities. With the Chung-chia, there is no definite day for the beginning of farm work, but it is generally around the tenth day of the first month.

796 During the first three days of the year the Hua Miao, the Ch'ing Miao and the Chung-chia would all stay home without going out for fear of meeting with unlucky events. On the
[574] fourth day the villages become astir with New Year visits between

[197 cont.]

527 would just cluster around and watch, while others would disperse
535 to sing and joke and play mouth organs. The noises on the slope soon become confused as the festivity wears on. After the dance the old and the middle-aged would form groups to help themselves with refreshments while the young men and women would scatter to the high cliffs and wilderness to sing and talk, such laxity being altogether permissible on this day.

527 B. The Purposes of the Flower Dance. 1) The Belief in
535 a Prosperous Harvest. The Miao have no other pursuits besides
241 agriculture, and in case of famine there are no means to maintain livelihood. So during the first month when there is a respite between farm activities they hold the flower dance to pray for a bountiful year with an adequate rainfall to bring about a rich harvest in all the grain. This superstitious belief is not only indulged in by the Miao, but shared by the local Chinese as well. Therefore, in case that the Miao themselves cannot maintain
[648] order at the dancing slope, the Chinese [198] are always ready to offer help. Sometimes the Chinese are even willing to put up the money for the flower slope and welcome the Miao to the dance as a prosperous harvest benefits all the people concerned.

527 2) The Belief in the Acquisition of a son. The Miao of
535 the area believe firmly that the flower dance facilitates child-
842 birth. So at the dance one often sees couples wearing unembroidered jackets with blankets on their back for, it is said, after the flower dance the conception of a child is most likely. There are also couples who after being childless for a long time, welcome the flower tree to their house and give feasts at great expense to entertain visitors. When the tree arrives at the gaily decorated house, it is received to the accompaniment of firecrackers and instrumental music from the lu-sheng and so-na. The hosts kneels down to welcome the tree and blesses it with many lucky words in anticipation of a son. This is another reason why the Hua Miao perform the flower dance.

527 3) The Selection of a Mate. Many Miao choose their
535 partners in life at the flower dance, and many parents follow
584 their sons and daughters to the scene to observe whether the ones selected are satisfactory. After the event they would ask a

pens made of bamboo. Mèo women excel in raising these pigs, which are of a special variety. They know how to dose the maize and leave it whole or break it up into particles of varying size according as it is to be used to feed a male shut in its narrow pen, a female with a litter, a pregnant female, or the young pigs which come and go freely in the house like the chickens. A few Mèo of Thanh Hoá -- the wealthiest ones -- also have a horse to ride to market, and buffalo. But the latter wander about over the mountains and are hardly ever slaughtered except for funerals. Mi 231

Like the Man, the Mèo of the province cultivate only rẫy, and change their site every two, three or four years. On the hills and even slopes they sow rice broadcast in the third and fourth months and harvest it in the ninth and tenth months. I have seen some with superb, well-filled husks and enormous grains (3). Elsewhere, in /235/ the Mi 241

> 3. The Mèo grow chiefly common rice, and little of the glutinous kind, in contrast to the Thai. On the other hand, the latter do not sow their mountain rice broadcast, but place it in holes.

basins, they alternate maize which is sowed in holes and grows and ripens from the second to the eighth month (1) with opium which is

> 1. In the Thai rẫy of the same region, situated at a lower altitude, maize is harvested in the sixth month.

sowed broadcast in the eighth month. Besides maize and rice which form the basis of their food supply, the Mèo grow a few batatas, some cassava and some sugar cane.

The women busy themselves with hemp, with which they weave nearly all the cloth the family needs. From this material dyed blue or left white, they make their peculiar and rather funny clothing, the upper part of which is like that of a sailor and the lower part like that of a dancer -- a little jacket with a sailor collar and narrow sleeves, and a skirt which comes down only to the knee but which has so many pleats that it becomes very heavy. The women also wear long leggings and high turbans, and on holidays the collars and skirts of their garments are brightened with white on blue designs and with a childish mass of tricolored materials. Mi 287 291

Hospitable people, the Mèo of Thanh Hoá have remained timid 000

[150 cont.]

101 White Meo ("Peu-Méo")
Black Meo ("Heu-Méo")
Red Meo ("Hong-Méo")
Meo of the flowers ("Hoa-Méo")
"Méo-moung-cha"

[151] These various tribes have characters, mores, and dialects only very slightly different. They are melting little by little [184] into one another and scarcely differ except in the details of feminine costume. Hence, we shall not study them separately, as we have done for the tribes of the preceding groups, and we shall restrict ourselves to pointing out in passing the peculiarities of each of them.

The "Méo" men are generally of medium or small stature, 142 robust, hardy, with strong legs, developed by the long climbs in the [147] mountains and the carrying of heavy burdens. Some "Méo" are of large stature, but these are not the toughest. The women are smaller than the men. Very sweet and graceful during their youth, they soon become very clumsy and heavy. Their breasts are extremely well [163] developed but deformed by their numerous progeny. The birth rate [165] is very high; the infant mortality, likewise.

The "Méo" have very coarse, very black hair. It is not rare [143] to find among them individuals who are blond or even albino, however.

273 The "Méo," very sober in normal times, seizes every opportunity to become drunk and to make good cheer. He often contracts [164] pulmonary diseases due to his heedlessness and to the bad conditions under which he lives.

147 It is impossible to acclimate him to low altitudes, where he immediately falls sick and rapidly becomes dispirited.

The "Méo" who have established irrigated rice fields have ● 24/ carried out this work along high mountain valleys. Yet they do not 36/ live near these planted areas, in spite of the relatively high altitude of the latter. As soon as the daily work is finished, they climb up again to their villages, which always remain located near the summits (see photo 428, Plate 43).

157 The "Méo" is of a gay disposition, very independent, courage- 609 ous, and extremely candid. Very hospitable, he always welcomes

[159 cont.]

271 The "Méo" habitually drink water, but they make alcohol
273 from grain (distilled or fermented) which they often drink without the slightest moderation.

They smoke tobacco in the bamboo water pipe or in the long
276 pipe [160] with the small bowl and mouthpiece of porcelain, of a model analogous to that of the "Man" pipe.

They smoke opium in a very moderate manner. Big opium smokers are rare among the "Méo" of Upper Tonkin.

[249] Sometimes they cultivate hashish, but never make use of it.

The "Méo" are, above all, farmers and they cultivate upon
241 their mountains the various grains and vegetables enumerated above.
311 They utilize to this end parcels of land capable of growing vegetation, even the tiniest, sides of knolls, shallow basins, clefts in the rocks.

The maize is sown in the fourth month and is spread about on
243 all the parcels which can be cultivated, often by clumps of two or three hills. The ground is scratched very lightly, with the plough or with the hoe. It receives a little manure at the exact spot where the seed will be deposited. The harvest takes place towards the eighth month. It is not unusual to see the fields planted to maize—
249 as we have seen above for certain irrigated rice fields — transform themselves into ground for the growing of opium, which is planted toward the ninth month, after the earth has been mixed with a few ashes. The opium harvest takes place the third month and the ground
[243] again is given over to the cultivation of maize or of sorghum. The buckwheat generally produces two crops a year.

248 The "Méo" also cultivate hemp, to which they consecrate their best areas of ground (bottoms of cirques or of valleys). The hemp is sown the fourth month and reaped the seventh month.

231 The "Méo" keep a few bees. They often have hives whose honey is used in cake-making.

They raise their numerous vegetables either in gardens laid
244 out near their cabins, or in the maize fields at the same time as the maize.

The agricultural implements consist of ploughs of a primitive
412 model with ploughshares of iron, and some hoes. For the harvest,
407 large scythes and billhooks are used.

131 idea of covering them or closing up the gable where glacial air poured
342 in.

132 In the rear of the cabin is found a little corridor which separates
342 it from the earthen wall hewn into the mountain. The front is provided with a narrow veranda where horses are stabled in stalls enclosed by round logs.

342 The interior of the house, which rests directly on packed
356 earth, is usually divided into three compartments. In the first is the
352 kitchen where the women habitually work. The cooking-ranges are of clay and are very large. They serve not only for cooking food for the family, but also to prepare the vegetable pastes which make up food for the farmyard animals. The household implements and the various agricultural tools are likewise kept in this room.

The one in the middle is the reception room, where the men gather after work around a great fire lighted in the middle of the room in a square bed of clay. Above this hearth is suspended a bamboo framework on which crops are placed to dry.

The third room contains sleeping compartments, simply small booths, separated from one another by partitions of bamboo or planks. Their sole furniture is a cot. The interior appearance of these dark holes is not at all tempting. In the greatest disorder one may see padded quilts losing their cotton through numerous rips and other belongings of questionable cleanliness.

343 /134/ In front of the house, the pig sty, very well cared for, is suspended above the slope by oaken beams and planks. Next to it, also hung above the void, is located a little shed which serves as a storage place for rice and maize.

352 The house is not without furniture like the Tho cabins. There
241 are tables, benches, cots of wood, all kinds of household utensils or tools, and even musical instruments. All around the Meo plant fruit trees and cultivate beds of vegetables here and there.

342 The type of dwelling which we have just described has nothing
352 which cannot be changed. Poor people and newly weds who are still getting settled simply build a thatched cottage whose sidewalls are made of corn stalks not too tightly joined together, whose spaces freely permit passage of the winter's cold north wind. When evening comes they simply throw a few armfuls of corn stalks into a corner and pass the night on this thinly padded couch.

631 on which the territory occupied by the tribe is dependant. It might
604 even happen that a simple Meo hamlet was overwhelmed in the midst
563 of a population of the Tho, Nung, or Man race. The inhabitants then naturally become pariahs, who suffer from the oppression because of the mass which surrounds them, and are very much more miserable than in the midst of a tribe of their race.

631 /138/ To the south of the Red River, at Tu Le for example, the
615 terms used to designate Meo chiefs are slightly different: the ma phai is replaced by the seo phai who sometimes has an assistant, seo phao. The tung cha becomes sung quan, but his assistant is called tsa thao, as above. Finally, in the rather large settlement of Phu Yen on the Black River, the chief of the great tribe bears the title hong ly.

Several of these titles refer to military functions, which tends to prove that in certain of their migrations the Meo must have organized themselves along military lines by force of arms. Ma phai means "he who keeps account of the horses"; ping tau, "troop commander"; and tung cha, "at the side of the chief of the canton."

Section 6

Economic State--Agriculture, Industry, Commerce

241 Thanks to his energy and diligence in working, the Meo
311 succeeds in improving and in drawing the maximum returns from a region where there are more rocks than arable land. It is indeed a curious sight to see him lead his ox and plough across a veritable chaos of black rocks which sometimes leave only a meagre square meter of land between them. At each step the plough turns up a bit of rock, which the tireless ploughman goes without delay and carries to the nearest heap of stones.

The principal crop is maize with which the Meo covers every bit of tillable land, the flanks of mountains and the bottoms of cirques or, at least, the thousand little pockets of humus which lie in the
241 spaces between the rocks. Seeds sown in April can be harvested in August. The Meo does not fertilize the soil all over. He is satisfied to spread a handful of manure at the precise spot where he plants his three grains of maize. Between the period of sowing and of harvest, the ground is cultivated three or four times, at first with a spade when the plant is scarcely out of the ground, then with the plough when it is larger. At harvest time maize is carried in /139/ pack-baskets and arranged in piles in the granaries, or hung in bunches of seven or

241 eight ears. The stalks likewise are placed in piles in the fields, and then carried in as needed for bedding for the animals, heating, cooking food, or even building house walls.

The Meo grow little mountain rice and almost never plain's rice. The areas rarely lend themselves to the latter crop. However we have discovered, especially at Gi Chu Phin near Van Bu, magnificent mountain cirques whose slopes were decorated with terraced rice fields up to an altitude of one thousand meters.

Aside from hemp, buckwheat, and opium, other crops are planted in the furrows of the fields of maize and among the stalks of that plant. This is done in such a way that the same field may produce at the same time beans, peas, pumpkins, broad beans, cucumbers and a grain called cao lien which serves to make flour and the bread eaten on holidays.

When the maize has been harvested, a crop of buckwheat is sometimes sown in the soil.

249 248 Opium is sown in November, the poppy seeds being mixed with ashes to protect them from insects. The incisions are made in the plant in April or May, then once all of them have given up their opium, preparations are started for a crop of maize on the same soil.

Hemp is grown at the lowest spot in the cirques, because it requires very deep arable soil. It is sown in April and harvested in 245 July. Sorghum is sown and reaped at the same time as maize. Finally some peach, pear, apple, plum trees, etc., are almost always found around the cabin. Their fruit, although less well flavored than those of France, is still not to be scorned.

286 462 415 The Meo make their cloth themselves from the hemp which they harvest. Some of them forge their work tools, spades, ploughshares, pruning-hooks, hoes, etc., and buy crude iron which comes from Yunnan for this purpose. They make their ladles and buckets, furniture, sandals of bamboo fiber, pottery and, in short, all of their farming implements.

252 243 462 /140/ To grind maize they use a mill similar to the Coi xay of the Annamese, but larger. The movable mill-stone here is activat by a crank which is articulated with a system of horizontal spokes attached to a strong wooden bar. Three or four women operate this bar by drawing it towards them and away from the mill, and then by pushing it towards the mill. The picture afforded by this exercise is one of vigorous movement. The bodies of these strong daughters of the mountain bending, their return movement which shows a glowing

/26 cont./

137 The flora varies according to the fertility of the soil.
134 The forested mountains of Farther India are densely covered with vegetation, whereas the highland of Kweichow is described as a barren open, and hilly land, whose soil composition is such that only one-fifth of the country seems to be suitable for human habitation (1). Kengtung is similar in appearance to

1. Von Eickstedt, V, p. 53.

133 Kweichow. The state lies in the extreme eastern part of Burma and borders on Yunnan in the north, on Thailand in the south; on the west it is bounded by the Salween River, on the east by the Mekong. The province of Kengtung, with its capital of the same name, is a mighty plateau, often bare and rocky, which /27/ rises from altitudes of 300 meters in the area of the Salween to altitudes of 3,000 meters between the Salween and the city of Kengtung.

137 Where the area has been inhabited by mountain tribes for a long time, the lofty forest has disappeared, since the hoe
● [241] culture with the burning of clearings during the short fallow period prevents the growth of larger trees. The region is therefore completely covered with low, dense bush forest, in which fast-growing types of wood are greatly predominant.

361 It is a very peculiar fact that, as was pointed out, the mountain tribes seem to be bound to a definite altitude and cannot be persuaded to go below a certain altitude limit. This fact is often confirmed in the literature. Lajonquière (1), for

1. II, p. 305.

instance, points out that the Meau select the terrain quite high in the mountain massifs at the foot of rocks as places for their hamlets; Abadie (2) likewise reports similarly. We are

2. Page 158.

[101] indebted to Credner (3) for a more detailed account: "Above

/164 cont./

776 other cultivated land are exceptions (see the section, "Cult and Taboo," in this chapter). According to my investigations, there are in general no absolutely evil or primarily good spirits, that is to say, /165/ certain individual spirits are not regarded as representatives of evil and others as those of good. Rather, each spirit is regarded as neutral. If, however, one disturbs a spirit in his dwelling, either by cutting down the tree that represents his abode or by soiling his abode, which he finds especially unbearable if the soiling were by defecation, he becomes angry and takes his revenge on the person or persons. Only through this is the originally neutral spirit, klaň yun, transformed into an evil one, which is then called nyŏhň. In such cases one tries to ascertain whether he has actually offended a spirit and strives to propitiate it. In certain cases, the help of the shaman is required, which I shall discuss in greater detail.

[782] [756]

[774] The spirits have no connection with the souls, except in the case already described, whereby a soul, through the influence of an evil spirit, becomes an evil spirit itself through its transformation into a tiger. All the spirits are invisible and can only be seen in dreams by the soul of the sleeper. They are male or female in sex, immortal, and otherwise live like human beings. They marry, have children, and cultivate rice and other products of the fields. They are particularly fond of visiting the rice fields of human beings, and in such a case these obviously "evil" spirits must be chased away quickly with the help of the ancestors, and the "good" spirits have to be asked to lend their assistance for the growth and increase of field products, for which a sacrifice of chickens and alcohol is promised.

[241] [782]

[177] All the spirits look like human beings and seem to be dressed accordingly. I was told that the evil spirits wore Chinese and Thailand military uniforms!

Besides these general spirits, so to speak, there are others to which definite characteristics and activities are attributed. Some spirits, for instance, have a special liking for war. One turns to them when victory for a military campaign is desired. Similarly, before a Meau works at a forge, he turns to the three

[724] [326]

/189 cont./

787 [756] The Meau ascribe extraordinary importance to various omens, whose number is almost legion. There are many omens that only the shaman knows how to interpret, while a great number is known to every Meau and he can interpret them himself and act accordingly. For example a field is abandoned if bad [241] omens appear, an /190/ accident occurs, or the crop fails, since one concludes from this that evil spirits are in it.

243 787 When a rice field is laid out, a person must be specially careful, and he does not by any means limit himself to the sacrificial festivals for the protective spirits described above, since the welfare of a Meau community depends upon the yield from the fields. The Meau live on the field products and the [433] booty from hunting; their dwellings and villages stand in the midst of forest areas. Hence it is not surprising that the behavior and the presence or the absence of various animals are believed [825] to be omens. In the search for a suitable location no muntjac may be seen or heard. If this obstacle is met successfully, it may still happen that when the first tree is felled, a turtle or a snake appears. In that case only swift flight can save one, for it means [776] that the dwelling of a spirit has been destroyed.

342 787 825 The omens which have to be heeded when a house is built are equally numerous. One may neither see a snake nor hear the "shriek" of a muntjac. Even the cry of a black squirrel is a bad omen. If none of these bad omens were noticed and if no bird dropped his excrement on the site chosen, the house and its occupants will be blessed.

224 787 825 In view of all this, it is self-evident that the Meau hunters, too, have absolute faith in the omens with which they are familiar. If one sets out to hunt and sees a snake or a muntjac, the undertaking is immediately called off. If one nevertheless wanted to proceed to hunt, he must expect to be killed by a wounded buffalo or elephant.

The muntjac plays an important and always unfavorable role. Merely its "shriek" is enough; the hunter who hears it believes that he cannot expect to bag any game.

39: Bernatzik--281 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/206 cont./

796 Maspero describes the New Year's festival similarly: "The
[782 New Year's festival comes after the harvest. 'The year is de-
769 voured,' by sacrificing a pig to the ancestors and eating it com-
526 munally with all the neighbors. Boys and girls then play ball
241] and dance and sing at night around a tree that the village sorcerer has selected, in order to increase the fertility of the new year."

782 Aside from this one principal sacrifice of the year, sacri-
796 fices are offered, as has been said, in part at certain times and in part at every important occasion, such as setting out to hunt, housebuilding (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction," section on the building of a dwelling), village and field
[184] arrangements, /207/ and cultivation of the fields. Maspero (1)

1. Page 244.

has made similar observations in Indochina and points out that in connection with sowing a chicken and incense (incense candles are meant, note Dr. B.) are sacrificed to the mountain god.

782 On such occasions one always turns to those spirits in whose
231 realm fall the activities for which protection and help is sought.
776] The extent of the sacrifice varies from a handful of field produce to a chicken or a pig, depending on the importance of the undertaking; cattle, horses, or buffalo are never sacrificed, however. In the Chinese literature (2) there are several reports of dogs as

2. ChHch'kfsch. II, ch. 10, p. 38, and ITG, 471 25b.

sacrificial animals. I believe, however, that this is not a matter of a sacrifice, but rather the creation of guardian spirits, as I have described it in the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter.

The Chinese literature (3) also mentions the buffalo as a

3. North-China Br., 1859, p. 285, and Album Gotha, No. 19.

Miao AE5

/209 cont./

484 782 Only then was the pig sacrificed in the usual manner by having its throat cut and blood-soaked paper burned along with invocations. Then the brother-in-law confidently set out.

574 782 114 261 It is strange that the very Meau whom I knew as so moderate are described by some authors as positively gluttonous, so that one sees the Meau as using the sacrifices only as a means for arranging lavish feasts. Abadie (1), for example: "In con-

1. Page 167.

[769] trast, the veneration and cult of the dead are not as strictly observed among the Meau as among the other groups of peoples. Burials, like the other great acts of life, births or weddings, are celebrated scarcely more than as opportunities for drinking and feasting."

Lajonquière (2), too, writes in this vein, and likewise

2. II, p. 313.

Abadie (3) in almost the same words: "A vague cult is devoted to

3. Page 168.

the ancestors, but on the whole it is limited to a few invocations and some sacrifices of food, which immediately afterwards are devoured..."

These authors made their observations among the Meau in Tonkin. Abadie (4) participated in many sacrificial feasts, just

4. Page 169.

as I did, but he seems to have obtained lasting impressions of the alleged delight in Lucullan pleasures among the Meau: "The Meau [796] celebrate a great number of festivals, which for them are the opportunity for just as many gluttonous meals. At the beginning of the year, the spirits of heaven, of the earth, and of the house, as well as the ancestors, are honored in particular. At the time [776] [241] of sowing, sacrifices are offered to the mountain spirits, the

796 /209 cont./
574 protectors of the harvest. After the harvest there are more sacri-
782 fices for the mountain spirits and the ancestors. On the third
114 day of the fifth month there is a special festival at the time of
261 the harvest of medicinal plants. Besides these festivals which
[776] have fixed dates, the Meau scrupulously celebrate birthdays and
241 other auspicious events. All /210/ of these festivals consist of
[527] eating and drinking, interspersed with singing and dancing."

Lajonquière (1) describes the following sacrifice offered by

782
796

1. II, p. 314.

the Meau in Tonkin: "At the beginning of the year they sacrifice to heaven and earth, to the hearth spirit, and to the ancestors, offering to them a piece of meat, a bowl of rice, and gold paper. On the third day of the fifth month they sacrifice a chicken and collect the medicinal agents and the dye plants. On the sixth
[769] day of the seventh month they sacrifice to the ancestors. At sowing time they dedicate a cult to the spirits of the mountains by offering meat, a chicken, incense sticks, and gold paper to them.
[241] At the time of the harvest they again make sacrifices to the
[769] spirits and ancestors, so that the next harvest will likewise be good."

In any case, whether one assumes materialistic or religious
[114] reasons for the many sacrificial feasts, the assertion that Dhuraratsadorn (2) makes, that the Meau conduct no prayers or

2. Page 173.

sacrifices for the local spirits and no rites of any kind in connection with the rice fields, housebuilding, or fishing, is undoubtedly incorrect.

778 As cult and ceremonial implements, there are the spirit-
782 swords made of wood (Figs. 53 and 54) or bronze (Fig. 55) and
[177] sacrificial bowls of earthenware or porcelain, which, however, are of Chinese origin, whereas the fat-lamps (Fig. 51) and incense candles (Fig. 41b), as well as the oracle horns, are made locally. Among the cult implements there are also the
[413] punches (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 359 and 360) with

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241 423 596 Through the labor performed on the land, it thereby passes into the possession of the head of the large /extended/ family. Every large family cultivates its land collectively; there is no distribution of the land among the individual small families of the family union. Just as a large family often cultivates several fields at the same time, it also frequently happens that several large families jointly cultivate only one large field. It depends on the number of individuals in a large family. If several large families, each with few members, jointly cultivate the soil, the land is divided into corresponding sections, each of which is tilled by one large family. Since the fields remain productive for only a short time, a later redistribution is unnecessary.

423 Wild fruits, plants, or trees belong to the person who collects or uses them.

422 [423 596] Among the Meau only the house itself belongs to the head of the large family, whereas the furnishings are the joint property of all the occupants. This is true of the kitchen equipment, the domestic animals, saddles, bridles, and the like. On the other hand, clothing, weapons, and personal ornaments are the property of the individuals, who usually obtained these objects as gifts, [431] for example, from the head of the large family or the partner of a love affair, and, in the case of children, from their parents, or they made them themselves, such as weapons, traps, and so forth. Similarly, the equipment that the wife has brought into the marriage, such as clothing and the dowry in general, remains her personal property.

The Meau have no special marks of ownership; hence such distinguishing marks are used neither on personal property nor on the domestic animals of the large family.

422 The legal conditions are definite for every form of loan, whether it is money, that is, silver, or field produce, animals, etc. that is involved. Loans are granted and handed over in the presence of three witnesses. No interest has to be paid for a loan up to one year; for a longer period, regardless of whether it is paid back in two years or in ten, interest has to be paid once, amounting to one-third of the value received. For example, if a person has borrowed 21 baskets of rice, 28 baskets are

39: Bernatzik--355 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

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Miao AE5

Volume Two

/259/ Chapter 13

Settlement and House Construction

A M 166 361 The Meau as well as the Akha of Thailand are seminomads who change their residence sites every couple of years. They decide on such a move, however, by no means lightheartedly or out of nomadic impulses, as Credner (1) intimates, but rather

1. IV, p. 70.

compelling circumstances induce them to undertake the indescribable labor of moving a village. The main reason for it is A M [241] [262] the exhaustion of the cultivable soil as a result of cultivating clearings without fertilization. Depending on the fertility of the soil, it yields rice, the principal food of the population in northern Thailand, for two to four years. After four to ten years, all the cultivable land in the vicinity of a village is exhausted, and the people must contemplate a move if they do not want to starve. Other important reasons are warlike events and legal A M [648] insecurity, especially in China, or the imposition of taxes that are too high, as in Burma or Indochina (see the chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," the section, "Attitude of the Various Colonizers").

M 166 361 [731] [756] [623] [622] The Meau also move their villages if epidemics have broken out or if the shaman predicts a misfortune for the village. Among the Meau the decision to move the village is made by the assembly of all the men of the village capable of bearing arms (see the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, "Popular Assembly). In the assembly, the opinion of the chief, as well as that of the shaman, carries great weight. The wish of the two is decisive, not theoretically, but in practice.

/263 cont./
361 an influential person. Usually, the houses are distributed over the area singly or in pairs." Abadie (2) reports similarly.

2. Page 158.

The villages of the Meau in Thailand always lie along the upper course of headwater streams and are usually named after them. To make clear my findings concerning the manner of settlement and house construction of the Meau I am reproducing [103] (Ill. 108[1] and Fig. 57) a site plan of the village of Nam Fa (Nam = water, brook, in Thai; Fa = name of the brook).

The village lies on a mountain slope dropping off rather steeply from east to west, which changes into merely a gently sloping plain where a kind of village square has formed. The space in front of the chief's house represents the center of the village. Feasts and dances are held here, the villagers meet here, guests from the neighboring villages stop here. The latter [628] [574] are often several days' journey apart; each village therefore represents a self-sufficient community. Nevertheless, during the dry season, visits are made frequently and with pleasure.

All around the village the large trees are cut; it stands [134] on bare loam which, after a heavy rain, turns into a sticky bog in places where it is not steep enough. Behind the houses [241] [351] there are small fields and gardens with all kinds of tubers and vegetables, sugar cane, gourds, bananas, and poppies. They are not fenced in and look more like the adjacent dense primeval forest than like planned gardens.

312 Every village is connected by a water line with a nearby source. The water of the source stream pouring down a steep incline is conducted to a trough by means of halved bamboo poles which rest upon forked posts about two meters high and whose partitioning walls have been removed (Fig. 58). /264/ /Fig. 57 appears here./ /265/

361 712 We did not come across any fortified villages among the Meau in Thailand. They had neither gates nor fences, nor definite entrance signs. /Fig. 58 appears here./

1 [See cat 116, p707- ANALYST]

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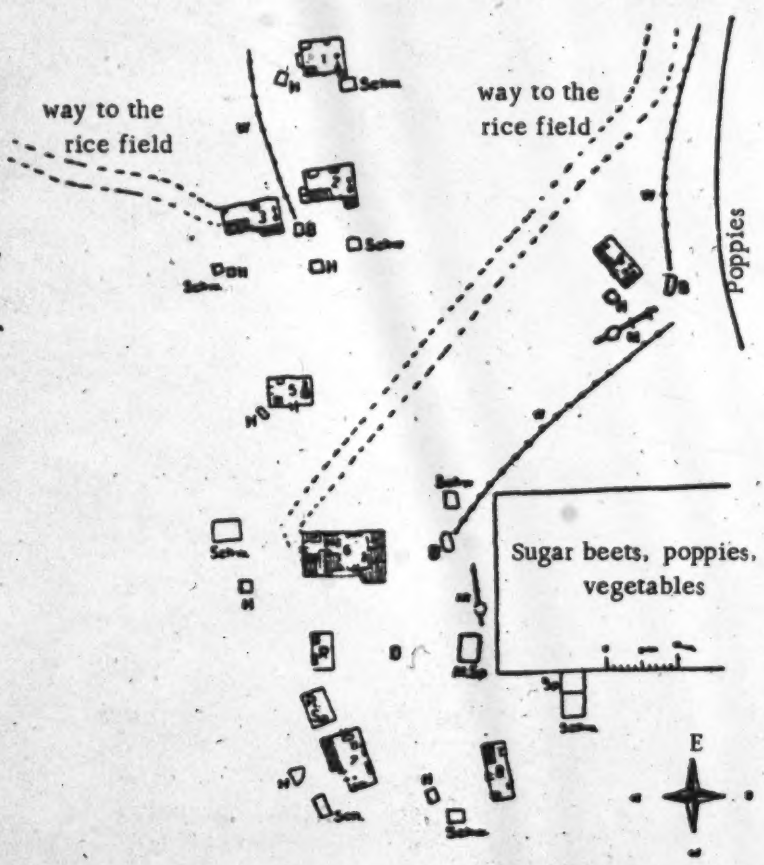

Fig. 57. Plan of the Meau Village Nam Fa.

Key to symbols:

1-8 = Dwellings	B = Wells
▭ = Sleeping places	R = Cattle stable
⫫—○ = Rice pounder	M. Sp. = Maize granary
□ = Hearth	R. Sp. = Rice granary
Schw. = Pigpen	M = Rice mill
H = Chicken coop	Sch. = Smithy
W = Water line	D = Village square

39: Bernatzik--478 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/351 cont./

226 The statements in the literature about the fishing of the [114] [184] Meau vary, depending on which territory of the Meau the authors visited. For instance, the information by Abadie (1)

1. Page 162.

is completely opposite to my own observations. He writes: "The Meau are no fishermen, since fish are quite rare in the upper course of the mountain streams. They eat fish, how- [262] ever, both fresh and dried, whenever the opportunity presents itself."

On the other hand, the observations that Savina (2) con-

2. II, p. 230.

veys are entirely different again: "In the evening, after the meal, the young people like to go fishing and search half the night under the rocks. One sees weirs at the foot of all the waterfalls. If one gives pins to the children, they immediately make angling hooks out of them. Communal fishing by villages usually takes place at the beginning of summer, [312] when dams are built in the watercourses in order to put the rice fields on the mountain slopes under water. Then the [241] fish are poisoned by means of the bark and leaves of certain [278] trees, which are thrown into the water in the upper course of the stream."

226 278 Among the Meau in northern Thailand whole troops of men, women, and children join together in order to pursue their favorite pastime, fishing with poison. First the leaves and bark of a certain tree are collected in the forest. When eight carrying baskets are filled, /352/ they are taken to the village, two additional baskets are filled with wood ashes, and then they all set out. When suitable places are reached, that is, deep places in the river bed fed by a scant supply of water, men, women, and children pound with cudgels the bark and the leaves brought along, mix the wood

/354 cont./

178 Lajonquière (2), too, has devoted attention to the culti-
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2. II, p. 309.

vation of this field product among the Meau: "Wherever the Meau were able to adopt wet-rice fields, they have preferred to devote themselves to this work."

●241 When the Meau in Thailand has found a suitable site in
[596] the forest for laying out fields, he goes there at the beginning
[782] of the dry season with the members of his large /extended/ family, sacrifices spirit-money, and requests first the ancestors and then the high Father-Mother spirit to help him and to protect him and his family against falling trees. Then all possible
[787] omens are carefully noted. If no bad omens are discovered and none appear during the clearing that is now begun, the work is diligently continued. First the brush and the small trees, later the larger ones, are cut. Giant trunks, however, which offer /355/ too much resistance to the axes of the natives, are only hacked circularly, and the brush is piled up high around
[314] them. If resinous pine is encountered during this work, it is left standing, but tapped so that the resin flowing out, which is a desirable product, will collect in the hollows of the tree. About a month later, when the cut underbrush and wood are thoroughly dry, the field is burned off and cleared of the half-burned wood; the latter is now piled around the trunks of the still unconquered primeval-forest giants, and everything is set afire again. Thus, even the mightiest trunks are finally
[243] destroyed and only slightly hinder the growing seed of the mountain rice in its development under their crowns now stripped of foliage.

243 During the time between the burning and the first rains, which are awaited for the cultivation so that the forest soil will be sufficiently softened to receive the seed, the Meau
[343] erect a small workhouse which is never lacking (Ill. 104).[1]
[417] On the other hand, no fence is built around the field, unless
[423] it borders on the field of another. In that case a fence of crude wooden sticks is erected on the boundary line. After

[1] [see cat 116, p705- ANALYST]

/356 cont./

243 [251] stored on the platform over the hearth. In the second month the Meau put rice seed in water in their houses. After eight to ten days, when the rice germinates, it is taken to small rice fields. In the third month the large rice fields are laid out. The men make dams for the water. In the fourth month, the rice plants are transplanted to these large fields; in the sixth month the rice blooms, and in the ninth month it is harvested. It is threshed at night."

●241 If the Meau lay out separate fields, the following plants, which I enumerate in the sequence of their periods of cultivation, are planted and sowed: sugar cane, yams, rice, and at the same time cucumbers, radishes, and beans, and finally maize, poppies, leafy vegetables, tobacco, and onions. Furthermore, sesame, buckwheat, and sorghum are cultivated.

251 After the harvest, all the field produce is conveyed by the Meau to their village and put in the dwelling. Special storage houses are set up only if the harvest was very rich. The store of seed is carefully cleaned and piled up on a shelf over the fireplace so that the smoke will keep off insects and harmful germs.

241 [243] [249] Depending on the fertility of the soil, rice fields bear from one to three years. There are poppy fields, however, such as I myself came across, that still produced a satisfactory yield even after twenty years of utilization. If a field becomes exhausted, it is allowed to lie fallow until the forest trees that subsequently grow have suppressed the weeds.

/357/ The reason for abandoning a field is generally the exhaustion of the unfertilized soil. The growth of weeds, however, a reason for abandoning fields which is cited by other authors, plays only a minor role among the Meau in Thailand. It is considerably less tiresome to clean the weeds out of a field than to clear tall virgin forest with primitive tools. All the plants mentioned are cultivated in accordance with established agricultural customs.

/360 cont./

243 14. Sorghum, negro corn, is of minor importance for Thailand, to be sure, but must be mentioned here for the sake of completeness. Sowing and harvesting take place at the same time as that of maize, which corresponds with the observations made by Savina (1) /see footnote 1 above/ in Tonkin.

244 In general the customs of the Meau here and there seem to correspond with regard to agriculture. Lajonquière (2) [184] /see footnote 2 above/ also mentions a number of kinds and varieties of vegetables, such as beans, peas, gourds, broad [243] beans, cucumbers, and in addition a kind of grass, called [252] "caolien," out of which the Meau there bake cakes. These field products, classified by the author under the name of "secondary cultures," /361/ are planted, according to his description, between the furrows of the maize fields and ripen at the same time as the latter.

351 Vegetables, aside from the large-scale cultivation in the fields, are also cultivated in gardens for daily use by the •241 Meau in Thailand. Lajonquière (1) noticed special house- [244]

1. II, p. 310.

gardens in Indochina: "In the gardens, which they arrange around the houses, the Meau harvest radishes, eggplant, [249] beans, peas, and also tobacco in sufficient quantities for their personal needs."

[184] The Meau in Thailand, to be sure, do not plant eggplant, but in the vicinity of their houses they cultivate in particular [245] bananas and fruit trees, such as lemon, lime, and in rare cases orange trees. According to the statements of the author just cited (2) "the houses of the Meau in Indochina, on the

2. Page 309.

other hand, are surrounded by a circle of fruit trees which are not fenced off on the outside." The multiplicity of the [114] kinds of fruit there is clearly expressed in a description by

/361 cont./

351 Savina (3): "There are as yet no fruit trees, but that is still

241 3. II, p. 185.

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114 to come, and, to be sure, next. In the next fruit season one goes to the neighboring villages, stuffs himself with pears, plums, apples, and apricots, 'remembers his mother, sister, and little ones,' and returns home with a full carrying-basket. The pits of these fruits are thrown into the thicket and germinate there. In a few years, fruit trees come up. This is the origin of the fruit trees that are seen around all Meau villages. Not a single one has been planted."

The author's statement that the fruit trees are not planted, but rather owe their existence to the pits haphazardly and thoughtlessly thrown away, cannot be upheld by anyone who -- as I did -- has seen how carefully the Meau select, plant, and tend their fruit trees.

248 I report on plants used in spinning and dyeing in the chapter, "Handicrafts."

412 The agricultural equipment of the Meau in Thailand will probably be best explained by the drawings. The small

243 crescent-shaped rice-knife (Fig. 268) is typical for the Meau. It is wound around the four fingers of the right hand by means of a string fastened to it, the stalk is seized with the thumb and the third finger, /362/ the cutting edge of the knife is pressed against the stalk with the ring finger and the little finger and cuts it (Ill. 95).[1] These knives vary in size, depending on whether they are intended for children or adults.

412 Other cutting instruments are: sickle (Fig. 271), chopping knife (Fig. 272), and the knife for harvesting poppies (chapter, "Stimulants," Fig. 289). Furthermore, the Meau have at their disposal the ax (Fig. 273), digging stick (Fig. 267), hoe (Figs. 269 and 270), weeding rake (Figs. 274 and 275). The

407 plow, on the other hand, as was described, is not in use among

184 the Meau in Thailand and has already fallen into oblivion, whereas it is still in use among the Meau in Tonkin, in accordance with its geographical feasibility. Abadie (1)

1. Page 310.

[1] [see cat 116, p 645 - ANALYST]

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/362 cont./

M 407 184 describes it as a "plow of simple construction with an iron shoe." So far as can be learned from the vague statements of the other authors, the other agricultural implements are identical with those of the Meau in Thailand.

A 241 243 The Akha in Thailand, like the Meau, practice hoe cultivation with fallow periods of eight to ten years, which the cultivation of rice for generally two years on the same field requires in their Thailand /Figs. 267-275 appear here/ /363/ area of settlement. Otherwise their agriculture is subject to the same climatic and geographical conditions as that of the Meau. They likewise do not use any plow, but, in contrast to the Meau, according to what is known up to now about the Akha, they did not know anything about it in former times. The terrace arrangement is also absent, so only the cultivation of mountain rice comes into consideration.

A [407]

A 243 [787] A [596] [782] When the Akha want to lay out a field and for this purpose look for a new site in the virgin forest, they, like the Meau, are bound by omens in making their decisions (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens"). If they are favorable, the head of the large /extended/ family decides on a place that meets his desires. Among the Akha, even before beginning the clearing of such a rice field, the offerings for the spirits begin. As we have already learned in the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Deities and Spirits," offerings are made to the various spirits in solemn fashion on definite occasions. Besides the close connection of the Akha with the spirits, these festivities show the great significance of rice cultivation.

Clearing begins in the same way as among the Meau, except that the Akha let the cut wood dry until shortly before the rainy season and then usually burn only once.

The fields of the Akha are smaller throughout than those of the Meau; their surface area varies between one and five hectares and therefore only amounts to the total size of a subdivision of a field clearing of the Meau. Whereas the latter subsequently try to give their property the rounded-off appearance of a unit, the fields of the Akha are very irregular in shape.

M [241]

/437 cont./

462 large trees, building stables for cattle, horses, and pigs, the
[231] care of domestic animals that bite, and saddling the pack animals. Another task exclusively for the men is the making of weapons; only the men make arrow poison and poison the weapons, catch mammals and birds, cook opium, and make alcohol. Furthermore it is their task to chop up the large trunks
[342] into firewood. In housebuilding, on the other hand, the men alone set only the posts.

Actually, the hard struggle for existence in the mountains of Farther India requires the full co-operation of the woman. Abadie (1) has likewise made the same observation:

1 Page 151.

"It is the task of the Meau women to carry firewood and water; also among their activities are the preparation of yarn, spinning,
● [241] weaving, dyeing, batik work, embroidery, all the housework
[248] and the cooking, and the weeding in the fields." Savina (2)

2. II, p. 211.

mentions further that the cultivation of flax is reserved to the women, but the Meau in Thailand do not practice it.

Both sexes do the work in the fields, clear the virgin
[241] forest, lay out the rice fields, sow, plant, and bring in the harvest.
[231] Among the joint tasks there are also reaping, fishing, papermaking, the care of the good-natured domestic animals, knitting or crocheting, netting, plaiting, house construction, in particular the strenuous dragging in of the building materials, as well as the bearing of burdens in general, the operation of the stone mills, and the sacrifices to the ancestors and spirits.

461 /438/ There is no actual work specifically for the chil-
857 dren. The children grow into their future activity, as has already been described in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, "Children at Play and Work." Obviously, the fetch-
[313] ing of firewood and water-carrying are left for them; boys are
[312] used as messengers and appear to be as trustworthy at it as in
[231] feeding the domestic animals in the stables or in tending them
[203] in the pastures.